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A NEW PARTY AND SOME OLD PROBLEMS

ISSUES FACING THE THIRD PARTY AND THE OLD DEMOCRACY

By CHARLES H. INGERSOLL

THE Conventions of the two leading political parties are matters of history. There still remains to be held the Convention called by the Committee of Forty-eight for the formation of a new political party. And the creation of a new party, if its issues are vital and are succinctly stated, is always an event of historic interest.

I believe that everything points to a situation ripe for the appearance of a new party. The growth of the Non-Partisan League in the Northwest, the formation of the American Labor party, the proposed Convention called by the Committee of Forty-eight for a liberal or radical party, are all signs of the widespread revolt among the people against the failure of the two old parties to grapple with the existing industrial and social problems.

The formation of a new party which shall have any element of permanency is a task of great difficulty. There have been several attempts made since the Civil War to form a new party, such as the Populist party, the Greenback party, the Free Silver movement, and the Progressive party. Any new party, to be a permanent force in our politics, must grow up around an idea involving highly moral issues, and must present a definite, workable plan for improving living and working conditions, which will stand discussion.

The main difficulty at the present time grows out of the fact that there are so many questions to be solved and such a great number of ideas as to the remedy for our ills. The Labor party, for example, in its tentative program put out at its Chicago conference in November, suggested thirty-two different remedies for our existing troubles. It is perfectly obvious that no party can be brought into being around thirty-two different remedies.

The task of those who wish to create a new party is to put forward one or two important and paramount issues and go into the campaign upon those issues, leaving all other questions to be settled at another time. Any new party formed upon any other principle may carry on a single campaign, and by polling the votes of all of the discontented make quite a respectable showing, but after the election it will disappear exactly as the Progressive party did.

TO RESTORE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

THE Committee of Forty-eight has attempted to formulate a definite program of paramount issues. Their platform is built upon the theory of restoring to our people equality of opportunity.

The Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission have shown how the interests which control the railroads have built up the Trusts by granting favors in shipments equivalent to rebates which are denied to competitors. As long as these privileges exist, equality of opportunity is denied and monopoly is the result.

Thirty years of regulation having completely failed, public ownership of the railroads is the only remedy. We should own and operate as a part of the transportation service all oil pipe-lines, all the important stockyards and abattoirs, and conveniently located warehouses for handling the grain and cotton crops.

But some of our great trusts depend not only upon railroad favors but upon the ownership of certain natural resources, such as land containing coal, iron ore, copper, oil and large timber tracts and water powers. It is obvious that as

long as these natural resources are owned by a few big interests competition is not possible. The remedy is for the government to acquire all such natural resources and open them up to use to all competitors upon payment of a royalty according to the advantages of location.

The same reasoning requires that something should be done in reference to land generally. All wealth comes out of the land. Our existing policy of encouraging land speculation must be reversed. No person should be allowed to hold any land out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly.

Here are two big ideas, large enough to serve as the foundation of a great political party and simple enough to be easily understood by the average citizen. These ideas strike at the basis of monopoly as it is practiced in this country. This program is not a class program, and the benefits to grow out of such a policy would inure to every class of people except only those who profit by monopoly.

If the Labor men, the Farmers and the Liberals, who are now giving voice to the widespread discontent in this country, can unite upon a simple program like this, a new, great and historic party can be brought into existence this summer. Such a party would poll an enormous vote and would so educate the people as to the foundation of monopoly and privilege in this country that its future as a permanent political party would be assured.

AS TO FEDERAL CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION

THE matter of government control of transportation requires to be dealt with at greater length. Before the war, the railroads were in the hands of private parties, but it was not long before private management broke down entirely, and the government was compelled to take control. There is a disposition on the part of the advocates of private ownership to declare that government ownership has proved a failure, and that private ownership is the only solution to the transportation problem. It must be borne in mind that at the time I write, the private owners are again appealing to the

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government to take control in order to relieve the country from the disturbing conditions of traffic throughout the land. It is a fact that the people of this country never experienced real government ownership or operation for even a moment, for the simple reason that the same working forces and same private management, in most instances, operated the roads during the war for the government, and the derelictions and shortcomings that occurred can as justly be charged to private ownership as to government control. The American people must and will demand an honest trial of government ownership and operation of railroads, before the question is finally settled, and the political party that declares against government ownership and bases its action on the assertion that government ownership of the railroads was tried and proved a failure, will invite the opposition of all those who seek only a fair and square deal on that question. Not until the humblest business man can be assured as fair treatment as his opulent brother from the transportation management, not until the flagrant and indefensible exploitation of the public as habitually indulged in by those who controlled the railroads during the past is entirely eliminated, and every community, every man, woman and child, "widow and orphan," in this big country of ours can be assured of honest, fair and just treatment, will the railroad and transportation question be settled. It is my opinion that government ownership and operation of all transportation facilities furnishes the final solution of the transportation problem.

The matter of enlarging the basis of our currency is so vital that I am venturing to discuss it in this brief review of the political situation.

WORLD IS SUFFERING FROM CHEAP MONEY

THE foundation of the world's money volume has in any practical sense ceased to exist, and the necessity of reviving and strengthening it is now admitted as a self-evident fact by the keenest financial minds of the world. The gold standard is today an idea, rather than a fact. Far-seeing statesmen in Europe advise a world's monetary conference to

readjust, as nearly as possible, the world's monetary foundation so that the injustice to both debtor and creditor may be reduced to a minimum. The world today is suffering from cheap money, and a penalty is threatened to those who, through honest thrift, gave support to the Government in the conduct of the war, and to those who hold securities bought with money having a greater purchasing power than the present dollar.

At this point a paradox is presented. In 1896 the West, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, emphasized its discontent, which resulted in the historical campaigns for the rehabilitation of silver in our coinage laws at the ratio of 16 to 1 of gold. At that time the country was suffering from the effects of a contracted currency, and complaint was not allayed until the world's production of gold reached a point unparalleled in history. The strain upon the money volume was relieved, and the bimetallic question ceased to be discussed in politics.

In the campaign of 1908 Mr. Bryan was again the Democratic candidate for President, but on a platform that made no mention of the silver question. When delivering a speech during the campaign of that year, he was "heckled" by an auditor, who asked, "Why did you go back on silver?" Quick as a flash Mr. Bryan replied substantially as follows: "Owing to the unforeseen production of gold the strain upon the volume of basic money has been relieved, and the silver question will be held in abeyance until such time as the production of gold does not keep pace with the demand for basic money."

In these words Mr. Bryan was almost prophetic. Today the gold mines are not meeting the increased demand for primary money; in fact, the production of gold throughout the world has shown and is now showing a phenomenal decrease, with little or no promise of even overcoming this decrease on the part of the gold-mining industry, to say nothing of meeting the increased demand for gold incidental to the world's war. Cable reports are to the effect that England has opened the mints of India to the coinage of silver at the ratio of 14½ to 1, which goes 1½ points further than Mr. Bryan was willing to go in 1896 and 1900. In those years Mr. Bryan fought

against an appreciating currency. Today the conditions are reversed. The evil is brought about by a depreciated currency. Evils flow from both conditions, and the cure is to be had only by such an adjustment of the monetary unit to a point on which can safely be built a financial structure that will deal fairly with all elements of the world's civilization.

Mr. Bryan has not given an extended explanation of his position on this question, but the time is not far distant when he will no doubt be an important factor in bringing about a readjustment of the monetary unit. As he has always contended, a depreciated dollar is as unjust as an appreciated dollar, no surprise need be indulged in should the element of society that defeated him for President three times prove the greatest force to cause his star to ascend from "the thicket of oblivion" to a height he never hoped to reach.

Political parties, financiers and the Occidental nations cannot long ignore this ever increasing demand for a readjustment. When one awakens to the fact that the Orient is now receiving in our gold exchange over $1.00 for every ounce of silver it purchased for 49 cents when the Occident made the Orient the world's dumping ground for silver, a condition and not a theory confronts this country that will not down. The wise minds of Europe see the danger that is sure to follow a continued strengthening of the financial power of those countries that now possess the larger portion of the silver of the world, and open action is sure to come. When it does come, a vindication of Mr. Bryan's position as regards silver and gold in the years of his defeats will be at hand. Tradition will then be set aside, for it can then be said that a prophet *is* with honor in his own country.

TAXATION THAT DESTROYS

I MUST also say a further word about taxation. The power to tax carries with it the power to destroy, while at the same time, if properly administered, this power builds up countries, advances civilization and gives hope to man everywhere. The world is burdened with taxes as never be-

fore and that question will long remain a burning one to all degrees of society.

The staggering war debt can be eliminated in only two ways: The first way is by repudiation; the second way is by production. Since repudiation will mean only an aggravated form of anarchy, it is not to be thought of by the civilized nations of the world. The only way to pay the debt is through production and intensive development of the world's natural resources, and any form of taxation that stays the hand of the toiler in his purpose to develop the land and that denies to him access to the land so that he may produce, is not the form of taxation that will help solve the problems of civilization, but on the other hand will stand as a barrier against upward steps toward a happier, nobler and saner civilization. The products of labor should not be taxed, while on the other hand the natural sources from which labor and capital create the finished product should bear the greater burden of taxation. Society will then invite the development of our natural resources, and once the stimulation to development from this form of taxation is felt by society, the historian will prepare to record its blessings. The party that longer ignores the fundamental truths hidden in this form of taxation is the party that will be eliminated from serious consideration by a people who are honestly and seriously seeking a permanent remedy for the evils to which mankind is heir.

The question of free speech and freedom of assemblage has, through the logic of events, been forced into the political arena, and a decisive declaration on this question will be demanded by multitudes of voters.

Ward political methods that now seem to dominate the old parties will not solve these questions. The combined wisdom, unfettered by selfish and ulterior motives, of the greatest minds of our country will be required to point the way to a brighter day. The wealth of the world cannot settle the problems. Wisdom and brains alone can do that. Never before in the world's history have wisdom, brains and plain

common honesty been in such demand as they are today. Gold becomes dross before wisdom, honesty and common sense.

At all events the present campaign, now fairly under way, promises to be one of the most strenuous and momentous in the nation's history. It is too much to hope that the fundamental issues here presented will be settled in this campaign, but with their frank and forceful discussion during the struggle and the entrance into the political arena of a thoroughly organized new party the way will be cleared for a fight to the finish on these and other paramount problems in 1924.

BUBBLES

By JULIA HOUSTON RAILEY

How good to lie beneath some whispering tree
In sun-flecked shade, with slender reed to lip,
And blow bright bubbles from its rounded tip—
Frail, fairy spheres, ascending airily
Toward the arching blue. How good to see
These gay-hued globes of gossamer, that dip—
Wayward—in every passing breeze and slip
Into blank nothingness at gust more free.

Of such slight fabric are the dreams I shape
In secret, musing on some old-world tale
Or sunk in visions of the future—pale,
Mist-shrouded yet. But when they do escape
Soon are they shivered by the wind of crude
Reality, that chills my idle mood.

MEXICO'S MAN OF DESTINY—OBREGON

WILL HE BE PRESIDENT?

By AGNES C. LAUT

OBREGON has been the dark horse of Mexican leaders, whether he be elected President, or chosen as military dictator.

He is yet the dark horse of Mexican leadership, because, whether he wins or loses, as military leader or as President, his success or failure will alike create a dilemma from which there is no escape. And Obregon never fails. Even his enemies admit that; and no man in Mexico has bitterer enemies or loyaler friends. He is no half-way kind of man. Carranza feared him and gave his support to Pablo Gonzales, who is reputed to be a blood relative of the First Chief, in order to create a counterfoil against Obregon; but Gonzales saw which way public opinion was swinging, and went over from Carranza to Obregon, which sealed the doom of the dictator. And he is the only man who can control the Yaquis; and the Yaquis have never yet been conquered by any man.

The one joint of weakness in his armor is his health. He lost an arm and he is an ill man. Apart from that he has escaped death by a hair both by bullet and secret poisoning so often that his followers consider he has a charmed life.

He has made serious mistakes, as all strong, quick actors hedged by treacheries are prone to do. At one stage in his career, he could save himself from the Carranza junta only by a quick alliance with the I. W. W.'s, and he got the support of 100,000 of them before his enemies knew what he was doing; but that antagonized the conservative middle-class business men. At another stage in his career he was infuriated by the Catholic church getting a loan of 30,000,000 pesos for the Huerta crowd, and he waged a furious campaign against the church in politics. That antagonized another powerful group.

Then he was violently pro-German and anti-American. The Germans were winning and Obregon had been brought up on anti-gringo school books, nourished by gringo hatred in his own heart; and that inspired bitter enmity among the Allies. Yet when Obregon came to know Americans and visited American cantonments, in spite of himself he became the trusted friend of Americans; and today he does all his business with Americans and his financial agent in America is a former editor of a New York paper, who now handles all Obregon's funds through an Arizona bank. It is a safe bet if Obregon could go back five years and rescind all he said against Americans, he would go back and sponge out the foolish words of an angry threat about "running all Americans out of Mexico." In fact, his first words in ejecting Carranza from Mexico were that the anti-American policy of Mexico had been "national suicide" and a "tragedy."

STORIES ILLUSTRATING OBREGON'S CHARACTER

HE is loyal to the death to his friends, and relentless to his foes, and just as relentless to his followers who fail. Here are two or three stories to illustrate his traits:

A great many friends will protest they will die for you; but when it comes to a five-dollar bill, they are not sure they want to live for you. That isn't Obregon's brand. Once when Villa had Obregon in his power in Chihuahua, he happened to have on his person in gold and negotiable bills $40,000. It is also a safe wager Villa did not know that money was on Obregon's person. Obregon sent for the American newspaper man who is now his financial agent. "If they get me," he said, "they will also get my subordinate officers. They are poor. Their families will be left destitute. Take that"—handing the American the $40,000—"and if I am bumped off, distribute it equally among the families of the officers."

That is one side of Obregon's character. Here is another. On one occasion he had in his car several representatives of the foreign embassies from Mexico City. There had been a battle. A mortally wounded peon was howling at the top of his voice for his mother. "Does that blank fool think

I am an incubator?" he asked, and through the car window, by one well aimed shot, the wounded crier was stilled forever by a shot from some Obregon officer.

Or take down in Mexico City! Obregon's forces were encamped out San Angel way. There had been a battle. The houses of the neutrals all around were filled with the wounded and dying. One house had not room for another soul. A peon was dying outside the walls. A servant, who could not stay to keep the dogs off, ran to headquarters to report the man. One of Obregon's captains came back with an orderly to look at the man. He took one look. The man could not recover. "Kill him well," ordered the captain; and one blow put the peon out of misery. Obregon may or may not have issued the orders. His captain was a Yaqui; and it was the Yaqui code; yet he has been held responsible for the code.

HIS INSOLENT NONCHALANCE

TWICE Villa had the death squad ordered to shoot Obregon; but he was stopped by the insolent nonchalance of the man. "What would you shoot me for?" he asked without the flinch of an eyelash. "If you shoot me, you'll only split the Carranza party and make a present of the country to the foreigners. If we hold together, we can hate each other, but we can keep Mexico for the Mexicans," and Villa knew it was true, for the American State Department men were on the spot; and he ordered the death squad back to barracks, roaring and swearing at the top of his voice, like an enraged bull, as he relinquished the chance at prey in hand.

What brought the split between Obregon and Carranza isn't hard to guess. Obregon was the strong man; but the United States had recognized Carranza. Whatever Carranza may have been, himself, it was his tragic misfortune to be surrounded by dishonest scoundrels who threatened his life and ultimately assassinated him, as I predicted more than a year ago they would assassinate him, if his luck changed. However cruel Obregon may have been on occasion, he has always fought with a certain code of honor, and his worst enemies have never accused him of dishonesty, or faltering in loyalty to his friends.

One episode will explain why, though Carranza and Obregon held together, their military commanders could never operate in the same field together. It was down in Vera Cruz. A Carranza relative was in charge. There was at that time no embargo on the importation of firearms. Remington 30-30 shells were being used. The Carranza man had 2,500 men. Ten million rounds of ammunition came in. The Carranza general reported it all "shot off," and requisitioned one hundred million rounds. That, too, came in. It, too, was reported "shot off." If, as the Germans figured, one bullet out of 25 should hit a man, this general must have "winged" four million enemies, but that was not his game. He called in a little foreign broker—not an American—turned the ammunition all over to the little broker, and sold it back to the Government. This was done three times. The little Austrian broker boasted that he cleaned up $200,000 as his share of the deal.

This was the sort of thing that made Obregon froth at the mouth. It is the sort of thing that makes him bitter enemies to this day in the Carranza junta. Then there were other little things. Obregon wanted to be first to Mexico City. He was held back by red tape till Carranza beat him to it. That happened over and over in all Obregon's campaigns. It perhaps explains why Obregon would not go against Villa, when Carranza's men couldn't whip Villa.

OBREGON AND THE YAQUIS

HE won the Yaquis by the simple, but in Mexico altogether unusual, proceeding of practising what he preached. He believed the Yaquis could be pacified only by having their own land to till. Now Obregon has descended from a Mexican family rich in lands. Would he divide those lands up with the Yaquis? That is exactly what he did, though he did not give them title unless they bought. He would set aside an acre or two acres to a family. He would advance the family a plow, a horse or mule, and one sack of beans to plant—all to be charged against returns. Now one sack of garbonza beans will produce 280 sacks worth $14 to

$18 a sack. All advances were charged against returns; then, for the use of the land, Obregon took 25 per cent of the net profits.

But he went farther than this. As all farmers know, the trick is not to raise a crop. It is to sell the crop without letting middlemen steal all the profits; so Obregon created an exclusive monopoly in Sonora for garbonza beans. They must all sell beans to him; and controlling all beans, he raised the price to $18 a sack. Of course, enemies howled at the word monopoly; but his worst enemies have never accused him of cheating the growers one cent. Compare his methods with Alvarado's socialistic experiment on the same line with henequen in Yucatan, when all profits went to overhead expenses and the growers were reduced to ruin. Yet Alvarado is today Obregon's finance minister, which, in itself, holds seeds of future quarrels.

Obregon had always been a colonel in his own home guards; so when the revolution broke he called to his six hundred Yaquis all the others who would come. It may be asked how the Yaquis got their firearms and how they get them today. Yaquis work on the American side of the border. They go constantly back and forward across the border, and when they go back to Mexico they carry shells with them. And they are very sparing of shells. They use the knife. When they find an empty shell, they run lead into it, put in their own fulminating cap and use it again. It is a shell crueler than dum-dum bullets.

So when Obregon reached Mexico City he had 15,000 men. It was then the Carranza junta began to fear him and began to conspire. Obregon countered so quickly, his enemies quaked. Dr. Atl, a madly enthusiastic I. W. W. man, educated in Paris in all the tenets of Red Revolution, was called in. One can imagine how Obregon's land policy appealed to Atl. Atl got out among the unions. Conductors, drivers, taxi men, deserted in droves to join Obregon's army. When Obregon left Mexico City, he had 35,000 men and his enemies were powerless to touch him; and he has never forgotten Atl. When Atl went broke from the very excess of his own theo-

ries, it was Obregon kept him in pocket money, and as late as July, 1918, Obregon sent Atl $100 in Los Angeles.

ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIM

BUT the association with Atl raised another host of enemies—the Carranza junta and the old safe conservatives. He was too powerful for open attack, but secret attempt after attempt was made on his life. Once a conspiracy bribed an Indian boy to sell him some cones of poisoned ice cream. Word through Indian friends came to Obregon. In sheer bravado, Obregon ordered the boy to help himself to a cone. The boy of course picked out an unpoisoned one. "Oh, I'll take that," said Obregon, beginning to munch the boy's safe cone, and he handed the boy another cone. The little Indian went from yellow to green with fear and began to weep. Obregon went on unconcernedly eating other cones. Luck was with him. He didn't chance to pick the poisoned cones, but the boy didn't dare to eat the cone given to him. A confession followed. The conspirators were summoned. They were given the cones. One merchant died on the spot. I forget whether three or five of the conspirators were shot; but all the press announced was ptomaïne poisoning.

At another time, some Zapatistas were smuggled into the city and placed on the roof of the Jockey Club with rifles. Obregon used to ride past the club to the National Palace. A fusillade of shots hit him. He fell beneath his horse unconscious. The Zapatistas were clapped into jail. It was announced Obregon was dead. That night two Spaniards went to the jail and offered the guard $30,000 in gold to let the Zapatistas escape. From his death bed, Obregon ordered the three Zapatistas let out and the two Spaniards arrested. Confession followed. Three men were shot for this conspiracy and twenty-nine others shipped out to Spain; so Zapata's followers today are Obregon's friends.

Obregon has been blamed for the hideous massacre of the police. His friends declare this was not his work but the work of the junta conspiring against him to discredit the Yaquis. What happened was this: Huerta had formed a terribly strong body of city police. What with Obregon's 35,000

and the 5,000 Huerta police, the Carranzistas were in deadly fear of a *cuartel lazo,* or quick military flop. They tried to disarm the police, but it was known the police still had firearms concealed. Strikes were impending. The Yaquis were told to "run the streets at night" so strikers could not come out. Atl was now hiding in Obregon's house. Carranza had forbidden the strike and was chilling to the I. W. W.'s because they had gone over to Obregon. Two Yaqui colonels got very drunk. In a saloon, they purposely created a row. The police arrested them. The Yaquis, "running the streets at night," then assaulted the police of the Fifth Precinct. The row became a massacre, a hideous massacre. The police were shot like scuttling rats in a trap—300 of them—and 168 citizens were wounded. It was all of a piece with the usual pattern of Mexican politics.

On another occasion, when Obregon was visiting in San Francisco under United States military escort, a variety actress was placed next his room in the hotel with a bribe of $10,000 to give him poisoned wine; but Obregon's wine and women days were over. He had married an old sweetheart and settled down. He probably never knew of the plot hatched against him in his own land; but the United States State Department did, and, if Obregon had died, that variety actress would have been hanged, though Obregon was no friend of America at that time. If Carranza had permitted Obregon to conduct an honest campaign for the Presidency, Obregon would never have used the standard of revolution for a second time; but the foolish old Chief knew Obregon would win in any honest contest, and ordered Obregon to his regiment. Obregon resigned by request. Carranza was prepared to arrest him. Obregon fled to his troops.

Will his luck stay with him? *Quien sabe?* As a friend said, when I asked that question, "Only God knows what will come out of the muddle of Mexico; and He isn't telling."

MEXICO'S FATE IN THE BALANCE

NO one knows better than Obregon that Mexico must have peace; and that she must have American friendship to

maintain peace; and that she must have American capital to recover from financial ruin. Can he give Mexico peace? If he can, the way before him is easy; but if Americans continue to be murdered by bandit chiefs like Villa, if foreign capital is confiscated as it has been, if foreign investors are harrassed in the name of "democracy"—then Obregon will pass as some sixty-one other leaders have passed with kaleidoscopic swiftness in fifty-nine years.

Mexico needs a strong hand but an honest hand. Obregon is a strong hand, but unless he can maintain an honest hand among his subordinates, sooner or later revolution will break out again; and another ten years of such destruction and lust as marked Carranza's régime will almost extinguish Mexico's nationality. It is a peculiar characteristic of his people that they will only stay with and fight for a winner. He is the winner today and will doubtless be in the forthcoming election, if not as President, then as military supreme commander. It is within the first year of his term that the test will come. If he stops the thievery among the generals, will they support him? If he stops the thievery, they may conspire. If he doesn't stop the thievery, he will have another revolution on his hands before this one has settled down; and the foreign governments of the civilized world have about reached the point—most reluctantly—where, if Mexico does not keep the peace in her own house, they will enter and keep peace for her.

It is the parting of the ways in Mexico's fate as a nation; and all who love that country as the most beautiful and fertile in the world, and all who pity the Mexican people as the most misgoverned in the world, will hope and pray that Obregon proves the New Man for the New Day. He may write himself down in history as the redeemer of Mexico; or he may pass as one man in the long procession of leaders, who began as patriots and ended as exploiters.

Let the world give Obregon his chance; but pray God he does does not turn his chance into the devil-dance of the Carranzistas around the dead body of their country's hopes.

CANADA ATTENDING TO BUSINESS

HOW OUR NEIGHBOR IS SOLVING HER PROBLEMS

By WALTON WILLISON

OVER your northern boundary, we in Canada have passed successfully through the initial stages of reconstruction. The natural fears of pessimists that "hard times" would accompany loss of war markets have not been realized. It is true that our dollar has been worth only 88 cents in your country, revealing an economic condition only too apparent to our financial experts, if not quite understood by our general public; but so far pronounced prosperity continues.

We have a Board of Commerce intent upon the destruction of profiteers and concerned for the reduction of prices, but the Board has found collective business generally honest, and prices have yet to fall. It is true that wheat values cannot continue at guaranteed war levels. Textiles seem to have reached their "peak," and it is quite likely that boots and shoes have reached their maximum, but prices generally show no signs of weakening. Labor is well paid, prosperous, and "healthier" than a year ago. One Big Unionism has been flatly repudiated. There is a greater degree of harmony between employers and employees. Methods of collective bargaining have been introduced in numerous large industries, and there seems no reason to anticipate a repetition of such industrial conflicts as the Winnipeg general strike last year.

Altogether, we are doing surprisingly well. Even our clergymen and school teachers seem about to enjoy higher salaries, and that scandal may become history. Recent industrial surveys prove our factories to be busy. Agricultural communities have not been affected yet by any drop in pro-

duce prices. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, province calls "All Well!" to province. It is a fair showing for a country that raised an army of half a million and fought in France from Second Ypres to the end of the last Hundred Days.

You talk the League of Nations and we speak much in public places about Imperial relations and autonomy. With us, as with you, such discussion of more or less external affairs is given an appearance of all-absorbing public importance which deludes some, but which in reality serves to cloak vital domestic affairs not yet ripe for discussion. Your old political parties seem destined to continue. Ours are in the hands of the gods and having an unaccustomed time. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is dead. Sir Robert Borden is ill and unequal to the task of leadership of the Unionist party. Sir Thomas White holds his seat in the Commons, but is no longer Minister of Finance. In Ontario the Provincial Government of Sir William Hearst has fallen before a coalition of Farmers and Labor. We have Grits of the old school who will hold no parley with the Tories; Tories of the same character who despise all things tainted with Liberalism. We have Liberal Conservatives who were born in the Reciprocity fight of 1911 and who have become Unionists. We have active labor politicians, and throughout Ontario and the Prairie provinces we have an aggressive Farmers' party which has already known success in Ontario and which covets nothing less than a national triumph which will win the country for their candidates and their platform. We have Prohibitionists, elated with recent triumphs. Then we have ginger groups.

SOME INTERESTING POLITICAL PERSONALITIES

INDEED, we have all the makings of a most spectacular political combat, and there is every indication that the battle will be fought shortly over the old, old issue of the tariff. We have fought such a battle periodically since the days of Sir John Macdonald and the National Policy. We had a hilarious fight in 1911 in which you were not uninterested and which smashed a Government while it defeated reciprocity. But reciprocity is trying to come back. The organized

Farmers demand it, even as they demand free trade with Great Britain in five years. The Liberal party platform, as announced last Fall, carried the clear suggestion of association between the two parties in the coming struggle, and the Protectionists are still waiting upon the Unionists at Ottawa for a domestic platform and an assured leadership.

Four men are in the political limelight—King, Crerar, Meighen and White. Of these the most outstanding figure is Sir Thomas White. He has proved ability and as Minister of Finance during the difficult war period won the confidence of the whole country; but he is loath to accept the responsibilities of leadership and to sacrifice the supreme years of his life to a political service which is at best ill-rewarded and which too often leads to broken health. An opponent of reciprocity, upon which issue he severed a long connection with the Liberal party, he is a natural leader for the moderate protectionist forces of the Dominion. So far, efforts to secure his candidature for the leadership have proved unavailing. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior and occasional administrator of innumerable departments, has a brilliant public record. A protectionist of the Macdonald school, he would be a popular selection with the Conservative party, but it is doubtful if he could retain the allegiance of many Liberals who now lend such strength to the Unionist Government. Hon. T. A. Crerar, farmer and free trader, is the Parliamentary leader of the United Farmers. Minister of Agriculture in the Union Government until he resigned a year ago, because the Government would not agree to such reduction of the duties as he demanded, he has been influential in the organization of a third group in the House of Commons and has done much to give the farmers the political strength which threatens the old-established parties in the Federal field even as it overthrew them in Ontario. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, chosen by a national convention, has succeeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal party. A close student of civil and economic questions and a former Minister of Labor in the Laurier cabinet, he has a thorough knowledge of industrial problems but is still to be tested on broad, na-

tional issues. With such leaders and such diversity of thought, there is opportunity for strange political fellowships. Given a fighting Unionist platform, the next political contest should be memorable.

GETTING DOWN TO REAL RECONSTRUCTION

ECONOMICALLY and industrially, we are beginning to think in terms of true reconstruction. Despite much conflict over soldiers' civil re-establishment and war veterans' gratuities, the problem of demobilization has been handled with surprisingly little conflict. Soldiers have been reabsorbed into civilian life, and the continuation of prosperous conditions has prevented any serious industrial dislocation. The war has shown the dangers of economic dependence upon foreign countries for raw materials and essential commodities, and Canada, like the other nations of the world, is concerned to utilize its own raw materials and expand its home market while developing foreign commerce to replace war trade. There is growing appreciation of the necessity of adequate Federal and provincial support of scientific research to determine the nature and extent of our natural resources. For this awakening public credit is due largely to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research at Ottawa.

Already, as a result of its investigations into the utilization of fish waste, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research has discovered that the annual yield of the Canadian fisheries can be increased by over 25 per cent. It estimates the loss in solids, comprising chiefly fat and proteins, in the 300,000 tons of waste that are thrown away yearly at $10,000,000 and in oil at $2,000,000. It has long been engaged in experiments to determine the commercial feasibility of utilizing the lignite deposits of the Prairie provinces as domestic fuel. The necessary manufacturing processes have already been carried out on a super-laboratory scale. There is every reason to anticipate industrial success, and success, according to Dr. A. B. Macallum, Chairman of the Council, will not only mean industrial development in the West and the annual saving of $5,000,000 through the substitution of lignite

coal for the half million tons of anthracite now imported into Manitoba and Saskatchewan from Pennsylvania, but it will blaze the path for the utilization of the 57,000,000,000 tons of lignites of Saskatchewan and of the vastly greater quantity of the better grade of this fuel in Alberta. Further, eventually utilization of vast quantities of valuable by-products will provide the raw materials of great and flourishing industries. Finally, it will constitute the first step in the systematic, scientific utilization of the vast stores of energy locked up in the lignites of the two provinces which, unlike the other provinces of the Dominion, are scantily supplied with water power.

APPLYING SCIENCE TO AGRICULTURE

OTHER important inquiries are being conducted by the Research Council, and already agriculture in Canada owes much to scientific investigation. Experiments in wheat breeding, for instance, produced Marquis wheat, the staple wheat of the West, and now the Council is assisting special research to breed a variety of wheat which will ripen early, be wholly rust-resistant, and have good milling and baking qualities. After rigid tests, a new process of making binder twine out of Saskatchewan straw grown for flax purposes has been discovered which, it is anticipated, will mean the development of an important industry in the Province and a great monetary saving to the farmers. So, the Research Council is endeavoring to devise some means of utilizing the thousands of tons of waste straw which are annually burned in the Prairie provinces. Such investigations as these directed to the discovery of new sources of wealth and calculated to lend stimulus to industrial development, are of the greatest immediate value.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are lost to the Dominion annually by export of raw materials and semi-manufactured products which could be saved for the country if final processes of manufacture could be completed at home. In 1918, Canada exported products, other than those officially classed as manufactures, to the value of more than $900,000,000.

The Canadian Reconstruction Association has estimated that if the manufacturing processes of even one-third of these had been completed in Canada, employment would have been given to at least 125,000 more workpeople, close to $125,000,000 would have been provided for additional wages and salaries, and the net value of Canadian products would have been increased by approximately $275,000,000. So with imports. During 1918, foreign products to the value of $906,954,900 were imported into Canada for consumption in this country. It has been estimated that if one-half of these goods had been produced in Canada or if the people in the Dominion had substituted Made-in-Canada products for one-half of the imported commodities, employment would have been provided for 100,000 more workers and close to $100,000,000 more would have been paid in wages and salaries. During the first seven months of the fiscal year ended March 31, 79.2 per cent of all imports into Canada for consumption came from the United States, involving, with Canadian money at a discount of from 10 to 15 per cent, an additional cost on account of exchange to Canadian consumers of between $75,000,000 and $100,000,000 a year.

NO HOSTILITY TO AMERICAN CAPITAL

FURTHER, employment was given to foreign workers instead of to Canadian labor and business was provided for American companies which neither paid taxes in this country nor offered any appreciable market for other Canadian products. It is not necessary to labor the argument. You are, perhaps, more familiar with it than we are. The Made-in-Canada campaign is not directed particularly against American capital or American industry, but Canadian opinion contends that American plants using Canadian raw materials should establish their branch factories in Canada and lend stability to our own industrial fabric in return for the use of our natural resources. It is not contended that there should be anything but the most complete recognition of existing agreements with American companies. It is hardly necessary to point out the tariff advantages in both the

Canadian and the Imperial markets which will accrue to American firms establishing branches in the Dominion.

In the foreign field we have done well and should do better. The Canadian Government, alive to the situation, led the world in extending special credits for the reconstruction of Europe. Further, many Canadian industrial groups have been organized for foreign trade development. The Canadian Government has established a credit of $50,000,000 with Great Britain for the purchase of lumber in Canada. An agreement has been reached between the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Federation of British Industries for the promotion of trade between the two countries. Canadian representatives of branches of English and Scotch firms have formed a Canadian Association of British Manufacturers with branches at Toronto and Montreal, and while the object of this Association is largely to increase British imports into Canada, it may be influential also in developing export trade.

CANADA AIDING EUROPE

OUTSIDE of the British Empire, the Canadian Government has extended credits to France, Belgium, Rumania, Greece and Italy. There has been active industrial group organization for the development of collective business, and many groups acting independently of the Government have had their own representatives abroad. A great deal of foreign trade has been received by the Canadian Woolen Manufacturers' Association. The Canadian manufacturers of women's garments, representing 95 per cent of the trade, have organized a "Ladies' Wear Export Association" and have representatives in Europe. Agricultural implement manufacturers have formed their own organization for foreign trade development. So have Canadian confectionery, biscuit and chocolate industries; Canadian oil and lumber industries; Canadian distillers, packers, manufacturers of paints, hardware, stoves, boots and shoes, pulp and paper, and other commodities.

Altogether, Canada is beginning to look strictly after its

own business, a fact which is indicated by the following "Ten Commandments for Canadian Trade," which the Canadian Reconstruction Association is circulating in thousands all over the Dominion:—

CANADA'S TEN COMMANDMENTS

1. BUY CANADIAN PRODUCTS. In doing so, you develop the home market, encourage factory expansion, provide employment for new populations, and create bigger and better markets for all kinds of farm produce. New factories, expansion of old factories, greater production, more workers, and better agricultural markets mean national progress.

2. IMPORT ONLY NECESSITIES, and then only if similar Canadian articles or substitutes are not available. With Canadian money at a discount of from 10 to 15 per cent, exchange with the United States is costing Canadian consumers between $75,000,000 and $100,000,000 a year.

3. PRODUCE TO THE LIMIT IN FIELD AND FACTORY. Increased production means new wealth and is essential to the success of any effort to reduce imports and promote export trade.

4. CO-OPERATE, CONSERVE, SPECIALIZE, STANDARDIZE. These are the means to maximum production of high quality goods at minimum cost.

5. DEVELOP EXPORT MARKETS. Foreign business gives stability to trade. It reduces unit costs, benefits domestic consumers, affords employment to factories and workers in time of depression, and corrects adverse exchange by improving the trade balance.

6. UTILIZE CANADIAN SERVICES. Ship by Canadian carriers through Canadian ports. Patronize Canadian railways, Canadian steamships, and Canadian banks. Place insurance in Canadian companies. Employ Canadian architects, engineers, scientists, and other experts. Spend vacations in Canada.

7. MANUFACTURE RAW MATERIALS TO FINAL STAGES in Canada. Hundreds of millions of dollars are lost annually to the Dominion, and especially to Canadian wage earners, by the exportation of raw materials and semi-manufactured products.

8. USE SCIENCE FOR THE DETERMINATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES. Industrial research will reveal new wealth, improve industrial processes, and help to relieve our economic dependence upon outside sources for fuel, iron and other essentials.

9. MAKE QUALITY THE HALL-MARK OF CANADIAN PRODUCTS. In return for public support of the home market Canadian manufacturers should provide products that compare favorably with imported goods and Canadian workers should recognize good workmanship and maximum production as their standards.

10. BE FAIR TO CAPITAL. Canadian money should be encouraged to invest at home and foreign capital attracted to promote Canadian industrial expansion.

LOVE'S VESPER STAR

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

Branches bending, young leaves blowing,
Ah, it is a wondrous thing,
All this glowing, overflowing
Blossomy tide of Spring!

Many a fleeting feathered vagrant
Voicing such melodious vows;
Oh, how fair and oh, how fragrant
Are the lilac boughs!

Daylong do the senses capture
Ecstasy anear and far;
Then at twilight comes the rapture
Of Love's vesper star!

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

A PROBLEM OF SEX AND SOCIETY

By THEODORE DREISER

In answering the six questions herein Mr. Dreiser gives mature and frank expression to some of his beliefs and observations upon a problem of increasing importance. The essay herewith is from Mr. Dreiser's just published book, "Hey Rub-a-Dub-Dub," Boni & Liveright, copyrighted, 1920, and republished by special permission.

I

Why is it, when there are so many evidences in favor of marriage as we practice it, that so many marriages fall short of just the purpose they seem meant to serve?

IN the first place, are there so many evidences in favor of marriage as we practice it? In part the question contains its own answer when it states that so many marriages fall short of just the purpose they seem meant to serve. Statistics for marriage and divorce show that one out of every seven marriages ends in the divorce court. For every one thus openly disrupted, how many others are restrained or concealed for reasons of religion, morality, children, society and business policy or permitted license? Many a couple agree to go their ways separately, doing as they please and shielding each other in their privileges. Others drift into a quarrelsome or unhappy state from sheer inertia or lack of means or charm or courage to establish or create a new condition. Millions sink in the slough of despond because they have not strength of any kind. Age, poverty, thickness of wit does for them completely.

Now there is no need, and there should be no desire, to evade the biologic necessity implied by marriage. Children must be brought into the world and reared if life is to go on. All the why-fors of this are given in a thousand biologic and

anthropologic volumes, and so no need to discuss them here. But this much may be said, that among animals the limits of the control of the maternal feeling or instinct are rigidly confined to simple necessity. Love seems to disappear as soon as the young can possibly walk or fly and get their food—proof of its mechanistic or chemic quality and origin and its lack of any sacrosanct and "for eternity" spiritual character. Indeed, under most phases of animal life the father is absolutely indifferent to the fate of his offspring. In many, perhaps most, animals he seems to care no more for his children than if they were moving bushes. Certainly he cares no more for his own than for those of another, and the idea of any love toward grandchildren is absurd. Not even the mother shows this.

But it is of the greatest interest to note that with the appearance of humanity and its ideas of home and property (both products of maternal instinct or the chemic necessity in her for the care of her young) there has arisen a natural extension of the scope and control of the family instinct, so that the interest of the parents continues into or through adult life. Support and protection of the mother continues beyond the child-bearing period, grandchildren are beloved, more distant relatives are held within the family affection, and the patriarchal type of society is established. Since the higher ideals of society and civilization have been permitted to arise the ægis of love has extended over the nation, and patriotism, with its great influence in war and history, has appeared. Finally that highest development of humanity, ethics or love of humanity, has arisen (still an actual outgrowth and extension of maternal instinct or love, apparently), as well as the theory of the existence of a Divine Father-Mother of humanity and of all life.

Yes, since the period of the law and the influence of Rome and the idea of love, the practice of it by enduring families has become rapidly more complex. To the force of sex compulsion and instinct, never omitted, have been added permanency, monogamy, home-keeping virtues, pedagogy, public health, civic and political honor, democracy and a thousand

such compounds. Has it stood up well under them? Is the load too great? Our riotous divorce practices and statistics, as well as the so-called sex or prostitution problem, raises a sharp question. Does the average strong, successful man confine himself to one woman? Has he ever? Does the exceptionally beautiful and dynamic woman confine herself to one man? Has she ever? Has not fear frightened the weak into a kind of rat-like dodging or a sniveling, quarreling, complaining compliance? It may be and no doubt is true that the so-called "building of the future," contemplated by the mechanistic or biologic impulse, if by anything, cannot be based on sensuality entirely; but the retort may be that Nature never seems to desire or achieve a wholesale debauchery any more than she desires a cold and narrow monogamy—the religionists and ethic-mongers to the contrary notwithstanding. At best she strikes a balance, wishes apparently virtue opposed to debauchery, and *vice versa,* for ends of her own.

But to return. However mechanically and instinctively it may have started, Life has since developed the more or less gorgeous chemistry of love with which now, if never in the past, it is invested. Human beings are apparently capable of higher and more enduring synthetic and chemic affinities, and this to many has seemed to warrant the second thought wherewith this article is prefaced. Yet, for all this higher development, the strain of practical life appears to be too much for it. Besides the compulsion imposed by the biologic process which draws two people together there is a process of self-evolution and variation which seems to conflict with the marriage tie. How subtle is that problem which is to keep two people, subject to internal and external chemical and physical changes, harmonious for the eternity for which they are supposed to be linked? Nothing short of this is the theory which the religionist propounds. The moralist, not bound by religious dogma, will make the bond for life only. The philosopher or chemist transmutes the bond into a problem and speculates on how many weeks, or months, or years, the unstable equation may endure.

In considering the validity of our ideas in regard to mar-

riage we either accept the current religionistic or moralistic theory, or we do not. For those who do there is no problem; they must accept their chains and slavery, if so they find marriage to be, and make a virtue of their sufferings. For those who do not there is the agonizing problem of the need of an equation in the matter of change. Somewhere they must draw the line, or necessity, increasing age, the difficulty of living in a moving-van, will fix the line for them. Again, there is a limit to any individual's capacity for change, however kaleidoscopic that may be. After all, any individual, male or female, however attractive, is but single in quantity and the choice offered to either of a suitable helpmate or companion is not so very large. One may be forever lowering a hook into the water, but not all the fishes in the sea may take it even if they would. Solomon may have had three hundred wives and seven hundred concubines, but it can scarcely be said he needed them or that they got much out of it; and while it is conceivable that a man or woman in swift kaleidoscopic search, and devoting him or herself strictly to the task in hand, might enjoy as many as a thousand or so of the opposite sex in the course of a lifetime, it can scarcely be considered valuable from the point of view of public policy and little less than difficult and, as it would seem to one at least, profitless from the point of view of the individual himself.

On the other hand there enters into the matter the very serious problem suggested by question IV, which I will include and touch on here for a moment only: "Are the children of any union better served by successive marriages than by a home where parents are held together, even though not by love but rather by a sense of duty to their children?" Obviously, Nature intended marriage for the reproduction and care of children, but I beg to call attention to the fact that Nature, or God, or the biologic process, or what you will, is no better planner or executor of any given theory or scheme it may have in mind than man himself. If this were not true there would be no physically imperfect men or women. The student of the pathology of sex, as well as of the sources of life itself, is confronted by a thousand variations from that

happy norm on which the moralistic marriage must be based. Nature has not provided all its creatures with the capacity for a happy marriage. Plainly, it has cursed or endowed many of them with strange and horrible vices, with vast and self-torturing passions, with immeasurable longings and desires, which unfit them for the proper fulfillment of the monogamic conception of the perfect marriage, hence the care of the ensuing children. What then is to be done? Who is to blame—Nature or man? And if Nature is to blame, or God, cannot we charge the presumed misery of the children up to Him also?

Personally, I am not prepared to admit that children are made miserable or destroyed by divorce and change. But granting that, certainly man is not to blame, for from the very beginning he has been crucified upon a rood which is not of his devising. He did not institute marriage; it was instituted for him, the biologic process having devised it long before he appeared, apparently. I would gladly have all living creatures endowed with every capacity which would fit them for a peaceful and contented enjoyment of a moralistic life, if that were intended or important, but since in the vast and secret laboratory of Nature alone can man be properly outfitted for the adventure, and since, obviously, in many cases he is not, I submit that the matter of matrimony and the welfare of the ensuing children cannot be solved by talk and that Nature and its concomitants, change and divorce, must be permitted to take their free and unlimited way as they will. The great tides and forces of life which burst upon men and animals and change them do not always give notice that they are about to rise and change things. They rise in their great strength, and man, to his bewilderment, finds himself changing and changed. Hence I would say that the trouble with marriage is that in its extreme interpretation it conflicts with the law of change, or balance and equation, and hence suffers a severe and seemingly destructive defeat.

II

What would be the result were we generally to adopt Ellen Key's conception of marriage: "Marriage is only

moral when it grows from an inner necessity, and not from outward pressure?"

VERY pleasant, I should say, if logic and ideal syllogism ruled in life. The trouble with this world is that no ideal, however eagerly pursued, is guaranteed a happy fruition. You may lay down your formula for happiness and say: "Thus and so being done all will be well," but can you make human nature do anything according to any one finite individual theory? Man does not make or regulate Nature: Nature makes and regulates man, and She makes him any way She pleases—vile, lovely, strong, weak, simple, complex, and so on. There is no one theory that fits all climates or types of people. Life would be very dull if this were true.

But I presume by "inner necessity" Ellen Key means intense desire plus a marked affinity of two people for each other, and if the union is for only so long as this endures I should see no drawback to it whatever. I should say that humanity would be much better able to endure the stresses and difficulties of the world if they were all so happily mated, and indeed there might not be so many stresses and difficulties to endure. No doubt we all wish that this would come true, but not all people are motivated by either love or passion. They would not marry for love if they could but rather for social precedence, material luxuries and the like. They accept children as a somewhat unfortunate concomitant, and so you have the curious problem of whether this state and its results are good, bad or indifferent in so far as society is concerned. For my part I would paraphrase Christ's idea and say: "Render unto Materiality the things that are Material, and to Love the things that are Love's." Then the world would remain just about as it is now.

III

Would a succession of unions, expressing different phases of true love, be of higher value to the individual soul and to the life of the race than one unbroken although loveless marriage?

MY answer to this question, based on my own individual temperament, would be Yes, but I cannot help speculating as to the opinions of those whose temperaments are so cool or so unemotional that they can put social precedence, material comfort, or the general welfare of the state, as they see it, above affection or passion. Thousands of people are by temperament sacrificial, one might almost say masochistic. They never put themselves first, and that for the very simple reason that their emotions or desires do not compel them so to do. The religionist, the moralist and the fanatic, for reasons of order or material development, as he sees them, would and does look upon love and passion as a disturbing, unsatisfactory and almost unnecessary element in life. Passion is sin or weakness to him, and the individual who requires more than one union to express his emotional necessities is either a lunatic or a criminal. His first impulse is to drive him out of society, to lock him up and reform him by some iron system of training; failing this he will shun him and form little communities of his own into which the victims of emotion and passion must never venture save as thieves steal into a house at night. This last is well and as it should be no doubt in his special case, but on the other hand he is the type of man who is determined that there shall be no divorce for others very unlike himself, who would make wife-desertion a criminal offense of the first order and who would also punish adultery with death if he could. He is a puritan soul. He does not see Nature in all Her subtle ramifications and climatic and chemic variations, and he helps to make that endless war between the so-called light and darkness of life—between sin and virtue—and these special phases of asceticism or temperamental coolness are the foundation of all religions, apparently.

Such individuals would argue, for instance, that the child of a loveless marriage is as well off as a child of a marriage of any other kind, provided he is clothed and fed, washed and schooled and thoroughly inculcated with the belief that sex is a crime. The less love that enters into the child's life at any time the better, say they. Children will do better, make better

men and women, and make more money, if they do not love too much. Thus stands the world, divided between the hot and the cold, the stern and the tender, the fools of passion and the fools of material order and well-being. Is the one better or wiser than the other? I do not know. You may pay your money and take your choice, for you cannot well serve passion and materiality at the same time. Personally, I stand with the fools of love, because I think for all their follies and errors and Lear-like ends they are happier.

IV

If the answer is Yes, are the children better served by successive marriages than by a home where parents are held together if not by love by a sense of duty to their children?

I WOULD not say that children are, in the main, better served by successive marriages due to changes of temperament, because I do not know, but I can truly say that I am fairly well satisfied from my personal observation, that they are no worse served. In the first place the fate of the modern child is not nearly so much in the hands of individual parents as it is in those of the state, the public schools and their teachers, the newspapers and their editors, the judges of courts and public and private citizens generally; for the modern child can almost say today that the state is both my father and my mother and it will take care of me. When it can really say this we will be much better off, for we are all going to be happier. The extremes of misery in childhood are going to be done away with.

In the next place it is a part of my personal observation that children of warring or troubled homes, where they are made to endure them, are worse off than are those who have escaped through fracture and been thrown on their own resources or are assisted by the charity of the state, or relatives, or the citizens of the country generally, to say nothing of the love or obligation of one or both of the separated parents. There is a deal too much sentiment attaching to the home as such today, sentiment not justified by facts. All homes are not ideal rearing-places for children, by any means. Consider

the vast factory communities everywhere, too easily forgotten by the comfortable intellectual classes, and again the slums. The homes in these are, if one were to pay strict attention to the moralist, as ideal rearing-places for children as any other; yet we know that life offers pits of horror as well as abodes of sweetness and light in the guise of the modern so-called home. Again, it should be remembered that the home was made for man, not man for the home, and when the home fails as a vehicle of comfort and aid it should be done away with. It is, after all, only wood or stone or plaster, an economic convenience at best. And, anyhow, where the heart is, is home, though it be a bed under the open sky or in a new lodging house every hour. And this generalization is not intended to exclude children either. The children of troubled warring homes live in a kind of hell of temperament from which they are glad enough to escape as they grow older, and from which they evolve the dream of building something better for themselves, for they realize the horror of the thing they have endured.

The basic reason for destroying many a home is that the children may not be injured. All life administers its sternest reprimands to those who abuse children. Life loves children. It really prefers them to their elders—the biologic process so does. There is a public obligation to them which we all acknowledge. But this is not to say that all parents should therefore be compelled to rear their children. It may well be that they are not fitted economically or mentally or otherwise so to do. Their whole duty is, or might well be, done when they support them properly. The state should do the rest, for, as I have just suggested, most people are not fit to rear their children; and I say this with the greatest respect for the human and very charming impulse which causes them to wish to. The intellectual standards of the average individual are not much; those of the state are in the main better and should and may be trusted to do better by the children than any of millions of parents.

V

Under what circumstances is divorce justifiable?

WHEN there is inharmony, schism, and in consequence bitter contention. I recommend this question, first, to the religious dogmatists of all creeds; second, to the anarchists, socialists and economic thinkers generally. They represent purely individual, to them justifiable, viewpoints. Hence the world's mass of dogmatic and radical literature.

VI

What is the key to making marriage do its work in the world?

Unchanging love possibly, or an ingrowing and harmonious sense of duty. Without Napoleonic skill or tact, however, I fear me much even then, and so would end with——

? ? ? ? ? ? ?

P. S. To sum it all up I would like to advance another theory of mine in regard to the duality of sex. It is quite probable that in the beginning (biologically speaking) the sexual progenitor of the human race or of evoluted species contained in itself the full chemical content of what has since been evoluted into the so-called male and female. Such being the case its chemical responsiveness to the movements of the universe, chemical, physical, spiritual, or let us say emotional, and to its immediate surroundings, was complete in itself. It was not divided into two sexes and therefore not dependent on any alienated portion of itself for its chemical, spiritual, emotional or physical satiation. What happened to it individually and momentarily was all that could happen to it. It needed no complementary organism, no other half, to make its understanding of, its reaction to, life complete. That is not true today. Man (male or female) appears to be individual and complete, but it is an illusion. He is complete and separate as an organism in everything save his chemical responsiveness to the universe which requires his union, not merely physically but spiritually, with his sexual companion to be complete. Their union sexually, temperamentally, emotionally, intellectually and so on is required before a full measure of chemical responsiveness to life can be attained in

either. It may seem otherwise in individual cases, but it is not so. Such being the case (and a world of biological data might be here introduced), you have the amazing spectacle of love which confounds all theories of life, which laughs at death, and, in its fullest expression, defies all human theory and understanding, acting as a *new* non-understandable thing, and letting in dreams, emotions, conditions from a deeper world than any we know and whereby this shadow called existence is resolved, modified, made over into something else so that it bears no resemblance to its former state. It becomes apparently what it well may be: a dream and an illusion of beauty or pain or delight, or all. Evolutionary progress seems to be based on this non-understandable, mysterious, idealistic reaction and contact which baffles the most searching suggestions and intuitions of the imagination and leaves us awed and dumb before the great classics of desire and passion.

But the great fact, not to be lost sight of, is that love, complete chemical responsiveness to the universe, is only attained in the reunion of the separated chemical constituents of the original asexual individual, and without love or this union there is no full chemical-spirited responsiveness to the universe. Man does not soar emotionally into the empyrean except in love, and by "in love" I mean when stirred by the sex impulse which makes for mate-seeking and union. It does not follow that there need ever be physical satiation to complete this union. Spiritual pollination can spring from the merest accidental contact for a moment with a mate. But the fact remains that the greatest, most complete spiritual and physical responsiveness to the universe (which after all, is a mere matter of chemical reaction) springs from this responsiveness, which springs from love, and as such our so-called love (desire, passionate chemical response, physical and spiritual) becomes the most significant fact in the universe as we now understand it. For what is the universe without intellectual perception on our part, the beholding of it with the eye, the perception of it with the senses, the responsiveness to it through the emotions?

WHY WE MUST HELP RUSSIA

HER PROBLEMS COME HOME TO EVERY AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD

By HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD
[*Former Secretary of Commerce*]

WHEN the question was put to me the other day: "Should we help Russia?" I must confess to both surprise and disappointment. I knew that there had developed in certain sections of our great country a feeling that we had done our part right manfully in the war, but now that the war was over, it was time for us to draw back into our shell of isolation and concern ourselves merely with our own affairs. But I could not believe that this feeling was either very general or very deep. Consequently, I turned upon my friend with a remark that his question should be, not "Should we help Russia?" but, "How can we help Russia?"

In the spring of 1918, after the Bolsheviks had concluded the disgraceful treaties of Brest-Litovsk, one frequently heard the accusation that Russia had deserted her Allies. But this was not true, for the loyal Russians never assented to that Treaty and in reality the military efforts of Russia ceased only when she was completely exhausted and when it was no longer possible to go on. What is frequently forgotten is that Russia, an agricultural country, deficient in transportation and in the development and organization essential to the conduct of twentieth-century warfare, and directed by a clumsy and incompetent bureaucracy, nevertheless sacrificed her men and her treasure without limit in the common cause. It was these sacrifices in the first two years of the war, sacrifices in which human flesh was pitted against German steel, that saved the Allied cause and averted German victory. Every generous instinct in the American people

must go out in sympathy for the Russian people, whose present sufferings and degradation are the price paid for their effective share in the titanic struggle.

RUSSIA TODAY AN AMERICAN PROBLEM

BUT the incentive to help Russia has not only this splendid moral basis of credit for services rendered, but also the material basis of immediate mutual interests. The withdrawal of Russia from production and from commerce is not a matter which chiefly interests large business houses and financial powers. It comes home to every American household.

We depend upon Russia for the flax which is the basis of our linen supply. The absence of this flax affects the price of tablecloths, towels, napkins, and linen in every form. It is not imagination but reality that the Russian problem thus directly touches every dinner table in the land. Indeed it touches every individual, for the prices we pay for the shoes we wear are affected by the absence of the great supply of Russian calfskins from our markets. The Russian problem reacts directly also upon the price of bread. Were Russian wheat free to move as once it did into the hungry markets of Europe, not only would it relieve starvation there, but its effect upon the cost of our own food would be direct.

We depend upon Russia for the world's platinum supply and our chemical industry needs more, and yet more, of this precious material. The petroleum supply of Russia would alter matters for the better if it were a competitor with others in the markets of the world. It would be easy to add other important factors, but it will be clear from what has been said that, both from the standpoint of our moral obligation and our material interests, Russia is today necessarily an American problem. The question, therefore, I repeat, is not, "Should we help Russia?" but, "How can we help Russia?"

It is not necessary to point out to Americans that it is not our business to interfere in the internal politics of a foreign country, and that the Russians have a right to decide,

themselves, the form of government which they wish. Nevertheless, this does not absolve us from the duty of examining the actual situation and deciding for ourselves before we deal with any group or organization that may be in possession of authority, whether they do represent the Russian people, and whether their methods and principles are such that we can have relations with them. These are considerations which we observe in our regular business dealings and they are most assuredly necessary in considering how we can help Russia.

BOLSHEVIKS IN SMALL MINORITY IN RUSSIA

IT is now perfectly clear, and no longer a matter of controversial discussion, that the Bolsheviks represent but a small portion of the Russian people, that they seized and continue to exercise authority by violence and terror, and that they have attempted to put into operation certain communistic theories which are diametrically opposed to our ideas of morality and business honesty. The attempt to carry out these theories has brought Russia to an unexampled state of economic ruin. Production has practically ceased, the cities are starving, transportation has broken down, and the vast mass of peasants have been turned back to a primitive state of existence. In a desperate effort to relieve the economic situation, the Bolshevik leaders have introduced compulsory labor and reduced the workmen to a state of serfdom. With such authorities and such principles we can have no dealings, and to recognize such a government would be to stultify ourselves. But we have not lost hope that the sound and wholesome elements of the Russian people, in spite of the adverse conditions, want and suffering, will soon reassert themselves and by re-establishing law, order, respect for individual rights, and the rules of business morality, make it possible for our people to undertake a program of reconstruction in co-operation with them.

Naturally, the first step thereafter will be one of extending medical and sanitary relief in large measure. The conditions in Russia at the present time are indescribable.

Typhus and other scourges rage unchecked. Filth and dirt and lack of medicines are doing their part. In undertaking such a work, we should not only be relieving the terrible situation in Russia, but should be safeguarding ourselves and the rest of the world.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITIES IN RUSSIA

WHAT Russia needs most of all is the introduction of capital and enterprise, and America has an abundance of both for the task if only her people can be led to see the duty and the opportunity. No field in the world will offer such openings for the profitable investment of money as Russia with her vast undeveloped resources and her teeming population. Some may object that to undertake such a program is to indulge in what is popularly termed imperialism, but it is not imperialism at all. It is, to be sure, profitable, but it is mutually profitable, and therefore in the interests of civilization and good international relations instead of against them.

Russia's first and greatest want is railway transportation. Woefully inadequate to her needs before the war, her railways went from bad to worse under the military strain, and the Bolsheviks, incompetent either to repair or to manage the railways, have completed the destruction. The railways are the very arteries of economic life in Russia and until they are restored the cities cannot be fed, nor can goods be moved to and from the interior for purposes of foreign trade. It is estimated that at least one billion dollars should be expended in railway repair and replacement in the immediate future, and this is a field that will furnish profitable employment to American capital and enterprise for a long time beyond anything we have known in our recent history. Furthermore, this means that in using our capital to build up Russian railway enterprises, most of the actual money will be expended in America and bring corresponding prosperity to our own mines and factories. It is a case of mutual service.

Next comes the great raw-material industries of Russia and the development of her illimitable resources. Thanks to

the Bolshevik terror and the destruction wrought by war the able industrial and technical forces of Russia have been scattered, and she must look to foreign lands for engineers and organizers as well as capital. Here indeed will be openings of every sort for energetic young Americans to make their fortunes and at the same time earn the gratitude of the Russian people. Beside the development of the iron, coal, oil, copper, manganese, platinum, and other industries, there are manufactories to be restored and built. The textile industry, for example, has gone to pieces under the blighting hand of the Bolsheviks, and now it must be built up again through importation of millions of dollars worth of machinery and of cotton to supply the crying needs of the population. With order restored and transportation re-established, Russia can start again to ship out the millions of calfskins that our shoe manufacturers want so badly. Flax will be cultivated again and the linen famine relieved. In almost every field of human endeavor, Russia offers golden opportunities, awaiting only American energy, enterprise and capital to bring them to fruition.

GERMANY A MENACING FACTOR

THERE is another consideration in all this that must not be overlooked. Before the war, Germany played the chief part in Russia, and played it in such a way as to dominate Russian trade and industry and make of it practically a monopoly. With this domination and economic penetration, hand in hand went Germany's political aims. If now the field is left clear to the Germans without competition, the same political ambitions will be revived and probably realized. If this takes place, it is easy to see that Germany, in undisputed possession of the resources and man-power of Russia, will be prepared in a few short years to regain her ascendancy in Europe and take her revenge upon the Allies.

It is evident that in any case the Germans will play an important part in Russian reconstruction. Their thorough knowledge of Russia, their geographic position, their own vital interests make this inevitable. The question is whether

they are to be the only element in the Russian situation, or whether America, to whom the Russians turn naturally, will also play her part in the task. It is not too much to say that if the attention of Americans is drawn to Russia and they seize upon the opportunities afforded, they will be doing more to safeguard the future peace of the world than by raising and equipping great armies. It is the part of enlightened statesmanship to direct our energies in such channels as these, not simply because of the prospect of profit, or even because of the larger political considerations and the possibilities of securing durable peace, but because it will be a permanent service to mankind.

Finally, it is desirable that the official embargo against business with Russia should be removed because the Soviet Government uses the fact of this embargo to explain the disastrous conditions which are, in fact, the result of its own policy and incapacity. No material body of American opinion, however, approves recognition of the Soviet Government, especially since it has been discovered in the act of attempting communication with disloyal and destructive agencies which are trying to work their evil will in our own country. So long, therefore, as the Soviet Government itself maintains a monopoly of Russian import trade, little business with Russia is likely to be transacted. American exporters will not go far in dealing directly with the Government which, while it has little cash of its own and less credit, is endeavoring, at the same time that it asks through its representatives for our trade, to create disturbances in our own land. The removal of the blockade, however, would take away the excuse that it is the cause of the troubles in Russia and would at the same time make clear to Russian opinion that the weakness and folly of their own rulers and not the acts of others were the real cause of their difficulties.

SEEING BATTLE-SCARRED EUROPE

THE BATTLE-FIELDS OF EUROPE THAT THE AMERICAN TOURIST WILL INVADE

By H. De Wissen

THE war has overturned all traditions of the tourist. Where Americans used to make pilgrimage to some quaint French town where Charles the Bold, or other illustrious bandit of the olden days, used to hold forth, Americans will now swarm over France, seeking out every nook and cranny where Pershing's boys chased the Hun. Places once unheard of, but where American history has been made, places with new and terrible connotations, have relegated old and magic meccas of the tourists into a by-gone Europe, as elusive in our memory as old half-forgotten melodies.

The new tourist map of France divides itself into three great areas. One begins near Paris. Quite nearby is Château-Thierry—a few hours from Paris by rail. Formerly, the only claim of the little town to fame was that La Fontaine, the fabulist, was born there. Charles Martel built a castle at Château-Thierry, and it was he who decisively crushed those other ravagers of civilization, the Saracens, in a battle near Tours more than a thousand years ago. Perhaps his spirit moved with our Marines, as, with the battle swirling round this old château, they broke the shock of the German rush with their flesh, and then went at the Kaiser's picked troops with rifle-butts and bayonets. And it was at Château-Thierry that Major-General Omar Bundy declined to obey the French order to retreat, and counter-attacked.

Now, from the château, one can follow the line of Bundy's counter-attack up the valley of the Marne and the Ourcq, across the river Vesle, even across the Aisne. Our tourists will visit places unheard-of in the tourist's lexicon;

and as they pass through these villages of the valleys where Americans died, as they see the scarred land, they will think: "How beautiful it must have been before the war!" For all these villages from Château-Thierry east were scenes of the most terrific fighting, of the breathless heroism of our boys; of amazing deeds.

As the tourist looks down on the Marne, near Mezy, he might let his mind go back to the summer of 1918, as I now do. Our Twenty-sixth Division was ordered to cross the river. The German Fourth Army was on the heights beyond. The opposite bank and the wheatfields that yellowed the slopes, gently rising from the river, bristled with German machine-guns. Our division attacked, but not a regiment succeeded in crossing the river. The Huns' artillery fire was terrific; nothing could get through their dense barrage. Not even a battalion got across, but one company, Company "C" of the Fifty-second Infantry, did. The Germans had an advance post, a whole company entrenched along the railroad track, but "C" cleaned it out and captured five machine-guns. Its own machine-guns had become wet in the crossing of the river. Now "the book" tells you that a wet machine-gun will function, and the book ought to know, but—well, "C's" wet machine-guns would not fire. "C" was in for it, but a couple of Yanks who used to tinker with machinery took hold of the captured German guns, and in five minutes all five of them were blazing away at the enemy.

WHERE OUR BOYS CROSSED THE MARNE

SO far, so good, but picture the situation. This one American company had crossed the river; German machine-guns were enfilading it from right and left, and the Fourth German army loomed on the heights above it! And "C" there alone, every other company, even every other regiment of the American division, held on the opposite bank of the Marne, unable to cross, because of the enormous barrage fire that the Germans had let fall. Half of "C" company were killed or wounded; the Captain and three of the lieutenants were lying on the ground. What was left of "C" Company, was in

charge of a boy, a "shave-tail" lieutenant just out of Plattsburg. The boy had a head on him. He led his men up into a little woods. He knew that the orders of his division were to cross the river. He knew that they had not been able to cross, but the orders were to cross, and cross they would. So he stuck right where he was. He "got" the Hun machine-gun on his flanks. He asked for volunteers to run back through the barrage, through that rain of shells, swim the Marne if they still lived, climb the opposite rifle-raked bank and report to his Major, "Sir, 'C' Company has crossed the river and will hold the ground gained." All the Yanks volunteered for this perilous mission. There, the tourist does well to perform a bit of psychological legerdemain, turning back the hands of the clock, bringing back the fighting that was.

He will find another little village on the Marne, a place called Dormans, where, in 1575, Henri of Guise defeated the Germans and Huguenots. It was at Dormans that one of our negro regiments took the shock of the big German attack. It was here that one platoon of blacks threw away their rifles, took their bayonets in their hands and went at it, as if the Hun had just grabbed up the stakes in a card game. The white lieutenant commanding these negroes ordered them to pick up their rifles, but one big buck shouted: "Yo' keep out o' dis yere, Lieutenant! Dis am a real home-folks party!"

As the tourists pass on up through the valleys from Château-Thierry toward Rheims and Soissons, they should think how six American divisions chased the Hun over this land—the Twenty-sixth, New England boys; the Twenty-eighth, from Pennsylvania, the Thirty-second, from Wisconsin, the Forty-second, the Rainbow from every State in the Union and the two Regular divisions, the Third and Fourth. On they went—alternating, first three in the front line, then the other three in reserve, they chased on after the Boche, sometimes not even waiting for their artillery. As they passed on up, they came to Fismes. Oddly enough, Fismes was filled with Prussian Guards, picked troops. It was odd, because the Guards were driven from Fismes by regiments

from the Middle West in whose ranks were many German-Americans. Also they gave the Kaiser's Own such a thrashing that the French called these soldiers of ours "The Brigade Terrible."

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

RHEIMS is a natural objective for the tourist working up to Château-Thierry. Of course, it will not be new to many Americans. They have been there to see its famous cathedral where, from the 12th century, all French kings were crowned, where Joan of Arc brought Charles VII. to be crowned. Here, in Rheims, we again wonder at the way history repeats itself. The city on the banks of the Vesle, held in the cup of the vineyard-covered hills, was destroyed in the Middle Ages by the scourge of civilization, Attila. The centuries passed, and there came to Rheims, in 1914, another Hun. As he studied through his powerful binoculars (a triumph of German science) the beautiful spires of the Cathedral of Rheims (a triumph of the French soul), General Von Herrington said, "The Rheims Cathedral is not worth the blood of one German soldier." Which is why Americans who saw the city before the war, will want to see it again. One glance at the cathedral will compensate for the horrors called to mind by the mute, but poignantly moving, old city, torn and destroyed by war, for the Rheims Cathedral will tell them that every sacrifice they may have made for the war, is worth while. In the frightful ruins of this beautiful building is crystallized the story of the war, what it was all about—one ideal of life against another.

Following the Vesle northwestward to Soissons, the tourist completes this new era of history. Like Rheims, Soissons changed hands many times. War was nothing new for the old town, which goes back to Roman days, for it has undergone many sieges. Indeed, as recent in history as 1870, the Germans bombarded it. During the recent war, they turned their heavy guns on it many times, particularly on the 13th Century Cathedral. It was near Soissons, in July, that our First Division went into action, with the crack troops of

the French and British — the French Moroccan Division, the blacks, and the Scotch Highlanders, called by the Germans "The Ladies from Hell." That our First Division was chosen to make the assault with these élite troops of the armies of our Allies was a high honor, which they completely justified. If the tourist goes to Villers-Cotterets, the birthplace of Alexandre Dumas, which is but ten miles from Soissons, and which our doughboys called "Veal Cutlets," he will run across the trail of our First Division.

PARIS AND VERSAILLES

EVERYBODY knows the attractions of Paris and, after the strenuous but fascinating explorations of the Château-Thierry battlefield, your wise Yankee will want to rest in the luxury of Paris. Even there, he can be about his business of looking over the scenes of contemporary history. He can see the damage done to Paris by the German air raiders, the place where Bolo Pasha, who juggled $4,000,000 through Swiss and American banks to spend for France's defeat, faced a firing squad. He can see the destruction wrought by the "seventy-six-mile gun." Whenever the shells from this monster used to fall into Paris, the Parisians used to say, "Ah, the Boche is suffering defeat at the front!"

And, of course, just outside Paris, a half-hour by train or motor, is Versailles, where the greatest of all peace conferences was held. Again the unerring cycle of history—old Versailles, its walls and gardens drifting with the ghosts of three centuries, a place of profligate and giggling kings, of beautiful mistresses who ruled France, of mighty statesmen; and the white, starved faces of the Revolution. It was there that Great Britain and the American Colonies signed their Treaty of Peace. It was there that Bismarck stole from France, Alsace and Lorraine, and forced the payment of one billion dollars. It was there, in 1871, that the Huns insultingly crowned the King of Prussia as German Emperor, and it is there that this empire which Bismarck reared met its official fall.

Those who toured Europe before the war rarely thought

of visiting the Valley of the Marne. But the Marne has taken on a new significance, for, in 1914, Joffre saved civilization here. The region has some history. A hundred years ago, in one of the little valleys, Napoleon defeated the allied nations. In Meaux, the town of handsome boulevards on the Marne, the Counts of Champagne built their chateaus, six centuries ago, and off to the east of the river, on the dreary expanse of the plain, the left wing of the French army was crushed by the allies in 1814.

THE NEW MEANING OF THE MARNE

IT was around the valley's towns and villages that the tide of the battle of the Marne eddied and swirled. In visiting the Marne battlefield the tourist will want to bear in mind that there were really two distinct phases of the battle, one fought just east and northeast of Paris, from Dammartin, where the French Sixth Army was, down to the little rivers Grand and Petit Morin, which run just south of the Marne, where the British forces moved into action. This part of the battlefield was where the troops that Maurouny rushed from Paris in taxicabs were hurled into action against the German General Von Kluck. More to the east, on the highroad from Paris to Metz which passes through Soissons, is the strategic point on the battlefield where the Germans lost the day. There is the village of Le Fère Champenoise. It was at this point in the German line that Foch threw his picked troops, the Forty-second Division—oddly enough, a division with the same number as our own Rainbow—which he had been keeping in reserve at Linthe, and broke the German center. The tourist will want to see the marshes of St. Gond, where the Prussian Guard was decimated by the fire of the French light artillery. He will want to go along the little brook of Maureinne, through the villages of Connautres, Courroy, Gourgoneeon and Semions, where the French made their desperate stand, while behind them, making a forced march, were the troops that were to come down through the pine woods near La Fère, and fall upon the exposed flank of the Prussian Guards. The tourist will want to follow the road of the Ger-

man retreat, which continued throughout the night in a blinding rainstorm, and see the house in La Fère where, on September 10, 1914, Foch established his headquarters, the night that the Marne was won.

From the battlefield of the Marne, wonderful old Roman roads and French national highways, enticing to the eye of the motorist, will beckon the tourist down toward the zone of American operations, or, if he would rather go by rail, there is the station of Romilly-sur-Seine but a short distance down from the battlefield of the Marne, near La Fère. From Romilly, the railroad winds eastward toward Chaumont, where General Pershing had his headquarters. The old town, situated on a barren hill, between the rivers Suisy and Marne, is not new in history, for here more than a hundred years ago the allied sovereigns met and concluded a treaty that reduced France to the frontiers it held before Napoleon's conquest began.

INTO THE AMERICAN ZONE

BEFORE the war, the tourist never bothered going to a place but forty-five minutes by rail from Chaumont, although even before 1914 it was rich in history. The place is Langres. It is a town built on a plateau, more than 1,500 feet above the valley, a lonely eminence of magnificence that looks, as you gaze upon it from afar in the twilight, like a castle-crowned crest in one of Maxfield Parrish's paintings. A venerable town captured by the Romans, imposing with the old wall they built, sacked by barbarian hordes, occupied by the Austrians in 1814, Langres has suffered throughout the centuries. From the plain where the railroad station is, to the town, ascends a little inclined railway, incongruously passing through gates of the old wall where once the Legions of Rome marched. It is in Langres that Pershing installed all the big schools of the "A. E. F."

From Langres the new American tourist will not seek the famous watering places, like Aix-les-Bains; rather he will strike north along the Valley of the Meuse to work into the zone of American operations and thence over to Verdun. On

his way north to the great American base of Toul, he will come upon Neuf Château, separated by only seven miles from Domremy, birthplace of Joan of Arc. Oddly enough, many an American regiment, the new Saviours of France, passed through Domremy, treading the same streets where moved the Maid who heard the Voices and saved France centuries ago.

Journeying north and east to the fortress town of Toul, the Yankee tourist will unerringly find his way to Nancy, an old walled town of seven handsome gates, that lies in the valley surrounded by vineyard hills. It was here, in 1477, that Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was defeated and slain by the Duke of Lorraine. But the Yankee will know that the first American troops to go to the front were based upon Nancy. He will know that until the Liberty motor made its appearance every night the Hun aeroplane used to glide over the town and drop tons of explosives; and he will want to see the damage.

"HERE REST THOSE AMERICANS WHO—?"

NOT far to the east, near the forest of Parroy, along the Rhine-Marne Canal, near Embermenil, the first American troops to face the Hun went into the trenches. Here the first shot was fired. Here the first Americans to fall on French soil were buried, and these graves will become a place of pilgrimage for Americans. Just northwest of Nancy is a region rich in interest for the American tourist, the famous St. Mihiel Salient, which the Germans held from 1914 until the great American offensive drove them out. Do you remember the "triangle" previously described—the "triangle" that had Rheims and Soissons for its base angles, and Château-Thierry for its tip? This St. Mihiel triangle—or to use the military expression, "salient"—was the same sort of thing. St. Mihiel occupied a position relative to Château-Thierry, and the German base points of the triangle were just east of Verdun, and about ten miles north of Nancy. The Americans attacked St. Mihiel with the same recklessness that they attacked at Château-Thierry, and the Huns made the

same headlong retreat. It was into this little village of St. Mihiel, which grew up around an ancient abbey, that Secretary of War Baker came with the victorious American troops, to be met by little French girls waving home-made American flags. Baker knew that the town had been in German bondage for four years, and he asked the little girls where they had gotten the American flags.

"We hid the cloth from the Boche," they said, "and secretly made them. We knew the Americans would come!"

It was on the southern side of the "triangle," about ten miles east of St. Mihiel, that the first American victory came, the battle of Seichprey. It was fought around the town of that name by the New England boys of the Twenty-sixth Division.

While the tourist is in the vicinity of Nancy, he will do well to make a trip along the plateau of Grand Couronne. This is the strongest natural defensive position in France. It is a range of hills, covered here and there with forests, the summits often rising 600 feet above the valley of the Moselle and Seille. It was against the Grand Couronne that the army of the Prince Regent of Bavaria hurled itself on September 6, 1914. It was there that the Kaiser stood and watched his great Army of the East attack in an attempt to burst through into France and overwhelm Joffre as, near Paris, he was fighting the battle of the Marne. It was up these slopes of the Grand Couronne that the Germans charged again and again, only to leave 120,000 dead on the field, and fall back in defeat.

The tourist will be interested in knowing that the right wing of the Second American Army rested just north of here in the little village of Namoney, close to the German frontier; that from there it extended northwest to Ville, just north of Verdun. There it joined with the First American Army, extending northward toward Sedan. At eleven on the morning of November 11th, the last shots the Americans fired were fired along a front that *extended seventy-two miles.*

Before journeying up the valleys of the Moselle and Meuse, the length of the American front, the tourist may be

tempted to jump from Nancy over to Metz. When one thinks of Metz, one thinks of Alsace and Lorraine and all that Germany's snatching of these provinces in 1870 foretold. The Yankee tourist will be interested in knowing that after nearly fifty years of bondage in the Prussian yoke, Metz still had the spirit to pour out into the streets and cheer deliriously the victorious entrance into the city of Marshal Foch. But, back in September, the Yankee tourist read in the papers that the German forts of Metz were brought under fire by the American artillery—a long-range bombardment, the effect of which he will be eager to see with his own eyes. He will recollect that Metz was heralded in our press as the first objective of the American army on the other side of the German frontier, and he may be thankful that the terms of the Armistice gave us Metz without a fight. About 50,000 Americans were saved from being killed or wounded at Metz by peace, for, although the fortress would have fallen, it was strong enough to inflict great casualties. Like many of the other cities that the tourist will encounter along the front, Metz has known war for centuries. Founded by Romans, it was plundered by both the Vandals and the Huns. It became a part of France. Then the Germans grabbed it again, and today it is France. It will go down in history as the place where Foch established his headquarters during the Armistice.

SACRED GROUND WHERE A MILLION DIED

CLOSE by is Verdun. Metz and Verdun are on opposite side of the old frontier. Verdun always watched the gathering German menace. Before war came, in 1914, if the Germans increased the garrison of Metz by one regiment, France ordered another regiment to Verdun. These two fortresses were the sensitized finger-tips of French and German military affairs before the war. Situated where the River Meuse fans out into several branches marked by a long bridge that mirrors its arches in the clear stream and ends in a little cluster, Verdun more than once during the war saved the day. It goes back to August, 1914, when the army of the German Crown Prince was flung upon it. Old Moltke, then

chief of the German General Staff, expected Verdun to fall like a house of cards as the northern fortresses of France and Belgium had fallen. But with incredible speed the French changed the whole defensive plan of Verdun. Hence the German attack on Verdun failed, and they swung down to try and burst through at Nancy, where, as we have seen, on the Grand Couronne, they failed again. Little is known of this part that Verdun played in the opening months of the war. Had it fallen like Namur, in the north, Foch could never have won the battle of the Marne; his whole right flank would have been rolled up.

It is what happened at Verdun in 1916 that the American tourist knows. Of course he knows that the Crown Prince's army began a tremendous bombardment on Verdun the day before Washington's birthday of that year. Forty-six years before, the Prussians had also bombarded Verdun, and it had surrendered in three weeks. But 1871 was not 1916, as the thousands of dying Germans strewn around Fort Douamont, Vaux, Dead Man's Hill, and the quarries of Haudremont, came to know. It is permissible now to tell the price that the French paid for holding Verdun, and, as American tourists walk over its sacred ground, they do well to remember that, to save the Allied cause there, France expended in killed and wounded, *half a million men. Germany's losses were almost a million!*

From Ville, about ten miles to the north of Verdun, the right wing of the First American Army rested, on the day the war stopped. Here it ran northwestward, through the valley of Woevre, in the Argonne forest, and along the valley of the River Meuse, to Sedan. The tourist can follow this valley in motor, or by rail. Doing so, he will come to Stenay, which is the last town captured by the Americans in the war. It fell fifteen minutes before the last shot was fired. Thereabouts the entire countryside was flooded, for the Germans had dammed the canals and the rivers. On Sunday, the day before Peace, the American artillery rolled along the heights of the river, and south of Stenay our First Army crossed and then swung northward on the town. Storming it, they found

it deserted. Then, in twos and threes, emaciated French people cautiously came up out of cellars, and with tears in their eyes, offered coffee and bread to their deliverers. It was discovered that there were 800 people in the town, the original population of which was 4,000!

ROADS TO VICTORY

ALL through that Saturday night before the Armistice, along the Meuse from Stenay to Sedan, the Germans kept flares going and star shells bursting, while their machine-gunners whipped the waters with bullets. But this did not keep our First Army from crossing. For six weeks they had been fighting for Sedan, and, as you visit that historic city, near which Napoleon III. surrendered on September 2, 1870, think that down from the long slopes of the southern heights of the Meuse tramped the old fighting Sixty-ninth of New York. Somewhere behind them, the American First Army was hurrying to get possession of the city. It was a race between the Sixty-ninth, representing our Rainbow Division, and the First, a division of regulars.

When the Americans approached Sedan, it was raining. They saw blown-up bridges, a dammed river with the low, marshy banks overflowing. They saw on the eastern bank German soldiers still struggling to get away with guns and transports. Over on the northern heights, in the rain, the flashes of the German artillery fitfully flickered. From all over the gray-walled city rolled clouds of smoke, where the Huns had put houses to the torch. That was the Sedan that the Americans saw.

Just a little to the northwest of it, and well worth the tourist's visit (if for no other reason than that it was the last scene of Hun barbarism in France), is the twin town, Mézières-Charleville. For two years during the war the Kaiser had his headquarters here. Strange ground for Wilhelm the Mad to be walking; for, three centuries before, Bayard, "the Chevalier without fear and without reproach," had fought there! But the heel of the Hun was no new thing for Mézières. In 1815 it was captured by the Prussians, and in 1870 they be-

sieged it three times, finally bombarding it. On the day before the Armistice in this present war was signed, the German batteries, safely out of reach on the heights beyond, poured gas shells into Mézières. Only civilians were in the town then—French civilians without any protection whatever against gas. You know what the Huns' mustard and phosgene gas shells can do! They did it, even to babies.

By this time the American tourist will have seen most of the French countryside over which Pershing's boys fought. There are other places, though, where history was made. From Sedan, the Yankee tourist could return to Paris for a breathing spell, and then strike north to get into the region of British operations. He might do well to head for Amiens, the old capital of Picardy, a town captured by Cæsar, and the objective of the German's enormous offensive in March of this year. On the way to Amiens, about twenty-five miles to the southeast of it, are two small places now large in American history. One is Montdidier, a town on the slope above the River Don, which takes its name from the Lombard king, Didier, whom Charlemagne imprisoned there. It was near Montdidier that, when the German rush took the British by surprise, six hundred American engineers who had been at work behind the lines threw away their picks and shovels, took up rifles, and, with some British engineers, held the line for seven long, bloody days, until reinforcements could arrive. And among the reinforcements was our First American Division.

But a few miles away is Cantigny, where the first clean-cut American victory was achieved. On various occasions, our allies had tried to capture Cantigny. It was an important tactical point that the Germans held. Our First Division took it in forty-five minutes, and held it against two fierce counter-attacks.

WHERE BRITAIN DID HER BIT

IN this region are the famous battlefields of the Somme, historic for tremendous efforts of the British in 1916. Here one finds Peronne, the fortress that for four centuries

resisted all attacks, only to fall to the British General, Wellington, in 1815; and a century later, to one of his successors, Haig. Here one finds Cambrai, recaptured by the Canadians, a town that gives its name to cambric, the linen invented there. While passing through the streets of Cambrai, the tourist might do well to recall that when the Canadians entered it they found to their surprise that the Germans had destroyed no buildings. After they had been in Cambrai a few hours, though, buildings began to collapse to the left and right of them, burst apart by the delayed-action bombs that the Germans had devilishly left in them. It was in Cambrai that the Canadians found a cat tied up with a piece of wire. As they cut the wire, a bomb went off—German science!

Here in the north of France, the tourist goes over the same ground down which the French and English retreated, in the first year of the war. He sees St. Quentin, Maubeuge, and just across the frontier, Ypres. It was around these places that time and again the British took the shock of the Germans' onslaught. It was at Ypres that they smashed the Prussian Guards. It was here, in Flanders, that our Twenty-seventh Division, New York boys, fought alongside of the Australians and smashed the Hindenburg line. Armentières, between Lille and Ypres, is worth a visit. It was here that the Germans first captured a large city without sending troops into it, merely standing off at safe range and filling it full of mustard gas. It was an impossibility for the British to remain there.

But more than anything, the American tourist should go to Lille, that great manufacturing city of the north. The heroism of its people has long been famous. In 1792, when the Austrians bombarded it, a shell struck near a barber, almost killing him. Picking up a fragment, he made his lather in it, crying, "My new shaving dish!" and shaved fourteen people on the spot. The nerve of the barber of Lille came to be traditional, for after the Germans captured the city in 1914, a barber refused to shave German officers and took the penalty of jail rather than give them this slight comfort. Lille, more than any other French city, felt the wrath of the German oc-

cupation. It is in Lille, from every man, woman and child, that the American tourist will be able to hear, first-hand, the stories that show just what occupations by a German army mean. It was in Lille that old women in winter used to follow the coal wagons of the German army down the street, holding out their aprons to catch any pieces that might fall out. It was from Lille that thousands of French people were shipped in freight cars to Germany, bound in industrial slavery.

Yes, the tourist map of France has changed. There is a new path, which spreads into roads that lead toward the German frontier, splendid roads where only heroism walked, and history was made.

AN ABANDONED INN

By DAVID MORTON

Along this stillness steals their ghostly laughter:—
The oaths they swore, the clamant song and jest,
Are haunting still each oaken beam and rafter,
That looked on many a gay, forgotten guest.
The clink of cups, the muffled clang of swords,
These, and the flapping cards, will not be stilled,
Though dust has spread the long-abandoned boards,
And hides at last the crimson wine they spilled.

And still, they say, on sullen nights of rain,
A passer-by may hear, beyond the door,
An old accounting for this ugly stain
That makes an evil pattern on the floor—
A sound of dice . . . an oath . . . a crashing chair. . .
And sudden, grievous silence fallen there.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE FOREIGN BORN

MAKING CITIZENS NOT A MECHANICAL PROCESS

By ARTHUR WOODS
[*Former Police Commissioner, New York City*]

I AM not at all sure but that one of the most evident ways in which American citizenship may now be on trial is with reference to those who are not citizens, with reference to the alien, the foreign born. We keep hearing the expression "Americanize the foreign born," and we cannot help wondering what is going to become of the poor fellow if everything that is planned in the way of Americanization is done to him.

It is not a mechanical process, this business of making a foreigner a good citizen. The war showed that it was not a mechanical process. I suppose in every regiment of our Army, in every battalion, there were not merely foreign born, but there were foreign born who could not speak English. Those men fought. They fought loyally. They fought well. They were amenable to discipline. They acted the part of Americans as well as people could act it—these men who were not citizens, who did not speak our language, who very likely did not know what it was all about. There is a good deal of difference of opinion among those who are their betters in acquaintance with American ways as to what it was all about. That makes me feel, and I think must make us all feel, that the learning of the English language is not a necessary essential to being a good citizen, and when we hear agitation to prevent the publication of foreign-language newspapers it seems to me we are on the wrong track. I don't believe we are going to make people better Americans by preventing them from reading the news in a language which they can read with less effort than they can English.

We hear, too, of the effort to make the foreign born learn something about the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. There is a movement on hand to put a copy of the Constitution into every family in the country. I don't believe you are going to make a good citizen by jamming the Constitution down his throat.

HOW WE TREAT THE FOREIGN BORN

WHAT is it that faces the foreign born in this country? One thing we must not forget is that we invited him here. The great inflow of immigrants was enormously accelerated by the definite efforts of Americans to bring in foreigners. We needed them. They came by swarms, a million a year. They were sent to the mines, to the factories, and became enrolled on the payrolls of various companies. Too often the process ended right there. No effort was made to give them a friendly welcome. They were called "dagoes," "hunkies."

You have heard and read a great deal about deportation of vicious aliens. If a person here, whether alien or native born, starts out to try to overthrow our government by force we should of course set going all the engines of the law against him. But the situation affects the alien in a peculiar way. The people who are deported are all aliens; not much seems to be done to native citizens. Therefore the aliens quickly catch the idea that our effort is against aliens and not against those who are violating our laws, whether alien or native born, and the feeling has got around to a large extent that we don't want the alien, that our effort is against him because he is foreign born.

They are going home now by shoals. The movement is unofficially helped. There is a propaganda among the foreign born, for instance, pointing out that this is the time for them to go home, because the rate of exchange is so much in their favor, because the dollar that they earned here will be worth so much more in their own money than it used to be. That is sound economic reasoning. But the whole tendency of that

treatment of the alien, of the—let us hope—criminal alien, is to make the aliens think that they are not wanted here.

NO ROYAL ROAD TO AMERICANIZATION

THERE is no royal road to Americanizing the foreigner. You cannot give him a pill and have him wake up an American. You cannot make him an American by teaching him the language or teaching him some of our great state papers. What we want to do is not simply to take him by the hand and make him a citizen, it is to make him a good citizen. That is our object. No democracy can go on as it should unless the majority of the people are good citizens.

The alien differs from the rest of us only by the lapse of a few generations. We are all of us foreign born if you go back a few generations. We came to this country. We like it. We decided to make it our home. We gradually took part in its affairs, took part in its public affairs. When you see the mess that has been made by the native citizen of some of our public affairs, you cannot criticize the alien too severely for things that he has done and has failed to do.

There is no royal road, but there is a definite way, and the definite way is to make good in our acts, now that we have the alien among us; to make good in our acts the practical promises we made in the invitation of the country to the oppressed from all over the world to come here and live among us. It is the friendly, welcoming hand that he wants.

Some posts of the American Legion have caught that idea in a very promising way. The American Legion is, I suppose, closer to the alien than any other organization except the distinctively native-born associations, of which there are a great many, because such large numbers of service men were foreign born or of foreign parentage themselves. A lot of them have been through the mill. They know how the alien feels. They know what he needs. The war has stimulated in these men to a tremendous extent a feeling of the solidarity of the country, a feeling of their part in the country. They can go to other aliens with the double advantage of knowing what the alien feels and what he is, and of knowing what is

the American civilization in which he is living and with which they hope he will identify himself.

THE POLICEMAN REPRESENTS GOVERNMENT

THE hired force that can do more than any other to give the alien the right idea about this country, is the police force. The alien does not know much about the President, and Cabinet, and Senators, and Representatives, and Supreme Courts, and things. He does know that pretty tough-looking official in blue uniform with brass buttons who sometimes walks up and down the street, but is more often in a comfortable, stationary post. He knows him. He knows he represents the officialdom of the country. It was notably true on the East Side in New York, which is the place where most aliens go, at any rate for a while, that the policeman on beat was to the alien his idea of the whole officialdom of the American government. If the policeman arrested him for some reason which he could not understand, he felt that the Government was unsympathetic.

I remember very well a case that happened to come to my attention, of a woman, a Russian Jewess, who had been a short time in this country and who was arrested by a policeman for some infraction of the law connected with her ash can. Just what it was I don't know. She was arrested by the policeman, taken to court. She did not speak English. He, it is needless to say, did not speak her language. She was taken before the judge. The policeman told his story. She was very much dazed and puzzled, not knowing what it was all about, knowing that she had done nothing that was inherently wrong, not knowing why in the world she was there. And the man up there with a gown on said something, and two or three people said things, and then she was whisked away, and it was made clear to her that she was to pay something. She reached in and took out some money, and a dollar was taken out of her hoard. That sort of treatment of the foreigner by the policeman is what prepares the soil to be fertile to the seed cast upon it by the revolutionary orator.

NO AGITATOR SO POTENT AS INJUSTICE

I OFTEN believe that there is no agitator of evil we need to fear except injustice. When you have injustice on a large scale you are preparing the ground for those who come around and bank on injustice in order to further their own ideas. If an anarchist or revolutionary orator gets up and tries to stir a crowd to do unlawful, revolutionary things, his chances of success are pretty good if most of the people in that crowd have grievances, either real or imaginary.

The result of that woman's experience, and one or two other things of a similar nature, was the issuance of an order to policemen forbidding them to make arrests for violation of the city ordinances. They were told that these ordinances were to be enforced by education and not by arrest, that they had to keep their posts clean, that they had to secure an observance of the city ordinances and the health ordinances on their posts, but that they must do it by educating the people and not by arresting them; that the only time when they could make an arrest for violating an ordinance was in case of repeated offences, in case of defiance, and that even in those cases they must present the situation to their superior officer and get his permission before they could make an arrest.

The result was quite astonishing. We had the people of the East Side turning to the policemen for assistance in every sort of way, and we had the boys on the East Side formed into what were called junior police forces. The boys who, I was going to say, normally would have grown up to be members of the notorious gangs which we have all read about, those boys were junior auxiliary policemen, simply because the policeman was made to take the point of view that it was his duty to educate, to show our manners and customs to people, instead of simply, unfeelingly, regardlessly, taking them into custody and to court in case they violated them.

These immigrants have perfectly good civilizations of their own. They have manners and customs which are just as dear to them as ours are to us. They come here as a rule with a wholly friendly feeling toward this country. They

would not have come if they had not had that feeling. They are ready to learn about us. They are eager to learn. They don't like much the idea, the word, of being Americanized. It looks as if a superior, patronizing race had set out to show them its ways, on the theory that they were tired, and disloyal, and ashamed of their own ways. They resent that attitude. They are proud of the things that they have got by inheritance from their ancestors. They are ready to be good Americans, eager to be good Americans; but they would like a little friendliness, a little consideration, a little tact shown in the process. That, it seems to me, is the way in which American citizenship is going to succeed or to fail in the trial of assimilating people who come to us from all parts of the earth.

UNREST IS WHOLESOME

WE often hear that it is mostly foreigners who are causing the unrest which we read about so much, which is such a serious element in the situation in the country today. Unrest is a queer sort of thing. I caught myself a few minutes ago using the word "agitator," and then I quickly tried to change and say "evil agitator," and I hope that it was not noticed that I once used the word "agitator" alone, because agitators are thoroughly wholesome things, and unrest is a thoroughly wholesome state of mind. If we don't have unrest, if we don't agitate for better things, if there is not a wholesome discontent, we shall not make progress. Discontent is nothing in a certain sense but another word for ambition, and if we have not ambition we don't get far. What we mean when we talk about unrest, when we object to unrest today, is the form of unrest which seeks to attain to a state of rest and peace by revolutionary methods, by not observing the rules of the game.

I spoke a moment ago of the treatment for the people who defiantly break our laws. The full force of the law must be invoked against these people. Those are a small group. There is a larger class who believe in making changes in our government, but who intend to do it by observing the rules of the game. Probably the most wholesome thing in

our whole scheme of government is the fact that it permits of change, that it permits of growth. I have thought recently that no matter how wild the revolutionist may be, he need not despair at his failure to accomplish even extremely radical changes by lawful means when I remember that it was lawful means that were used to put through the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. Any minority has a right to go ahead and try to make itself into a majority. Uneasy minorities are good things for a plethoric, comfortable majority to have to deal with. The rights of the minority must be regarded by the majority. It is a test of citizenship to accord to inconvenient minorities their full rights.

In the winter of, I think 1915, there was a good deal of unrest in New York, and one of the manifestations of it was that some earnest individuals, male and female, made up their minds that things were all wrong in the regions of the Colorado Fuel Co., whatever the exact title of it was, and that the Rockefeller interests owned the controlling blocks of stock in that company. To protest against the way things were going on in Colorado, some of these people put mourning bands on their left arms and walked up and down the street in front of the office of the Standard Oil Co.

PROTECTING A MINORITY

THE question was at once brought to me as to what was going to be done to these people, and my answer was that they had a perfect right to walk the streets with mourning bands on their left arms or any other part of their anatomy, or with any other decoration of their person, as long as they were respectable and did not violate our sense of decency. So they walked up and down there. If they had walked in such crowds as to interfere with the rights of others they would have been violating a law, and it would have had to be stopped. If they had incited people to violence, if they had tried to get people to storm the building, they would have been infringing on the rights of others, and action would have had to be taken.

In connection with this demonstration they had noon-

day meetings in Bowling Green Park. One day they were having one of these meetings. It was a fine, warm, blue-sky, spring day, one of the first after a rather dreary winter —an earnest young woman addressing the crowd. There were a hundred or so people around there. It was the noon hour. They had mostly had their luncheon. They were standing around, puffing at cigars of varying qualities and taking satisfaction out of them, and listening to what she had to say. According to her, everything was wrong, and the way to right it was to listen to her and join her outfit and go in with her, overthrow the government, overthrow the capitalist, own everything, and live happily ever afterwards. The crowd listened, taking it all in, enjoying the warmth of the sunshine. It was a very pleasant, companionable gathering.

It was interrupted by a man who came down Broadway, and who joined the crowd. He did not like what this young woman was saying, and he started out to answer her. That was just what she wanted. She had been able to start nothing. Here was somebody who would be a foil for her, and she could get some excitement. She shot back a very apt, irritating, somewhat profane answer to the man, which did not soothe his ruffled feelings, and he started talking, started to push his way through the crowd. The change in the attitude of the crowd was interesting. The way I heard about all this was that there was a reporter there who told me all about it. He said that people began to puff faster on their cigars, there was not the complacent feeling of comfort that there was before; they stood up straighter and began to look around.

Standing on one side of this group was a policeman. He was paying no attention to the meeting. The doctrine that was being preached did not interest him individually, and officially there was no law being violated. There was nothing that called for his action. But when this outraged citizen butted in, it looked as if there might be disorder precipitated, and the policeman felt called upon to take action, so he pulled himself together, went up and tapped his man on the shoulder and said, "My friend, you will have to cut that out." He

said, "Cut nothing out, officer. Do you hear what she is saying? I won't stand for it. If you won't stop it, I will." The policemen have soothing ways about them. This one said, "Now, see here, that is her meeting, and as long as she carries it on and there is no law violated I am going to protect her in her rights of holding meetings and having her say. If you want to hold a meeting you get over there the other side of the street, and I will protect you, too." Now, there was the agent of the majority protecting the minority in its rights. It was exactly the way the policeman had been taught to handle such things.

HANDLING AN ANARCHISTIC GATHERING

I TOOK office in New York on a Wednesday early in April, 1914. The Saturday before had been the culmination of a series of violent anarchistic street meetings in Union Square. They had been held right along every week. They had been increasing in oratory and in menace of violence. That was the winter when crowds of people went to the churches and demanded living quarters and food, and when a man named Tannenbaum, at the head of a crowd like that, was arrested with a hundred or so others. These Union Square street meetings were attended by thousands of people, and the Saturday before I took office there had been bloodshed. The crowd had taunted the police, who had made some injudicious moves, and the crowd had come back on them. There were free fights. Blood had been shed. A lot of people were arrested, and they went away preaching vengeance and stating that the next Saturday they would come with bombs, and bombs would answer bullets, etc.

I remember that when I left City Hall on that Wednesday to go up and take over the job, I went in and said goodbye to the Mayor who had appointed me and told him I was going up to headquarters to take his job. He looked up at me with a queer, quizzical look in his clean-cut face and said to me, "You damned fool!" Well, it was not so foolish as it may have seemed. What we did was entirely to change the methods of the police. The police were told that these people

were going to be irritating, that their greatest capital was martyrdom, that if they could make it appear that they were not being given their lawful rights, it meant recruits, it meant glory, it meant funds, that police persecution was what they thrived on.

Instead of having hundreds of policemen around there we had about thirty. There were plenty of them out of sight. We had about 100 or 200, I don't remember how many, detectives, who were to circulate around in the crowd to prevent it from getting packed too close, to wear smiling faces so as to keep the thing from getting too tense, not to be objectionable but to act as if they were just working out of the crowd, to keep moving in, then aerate the crowd a little, and the speakers were to be allowed to say anything that it pleased them to say. If it looked as if they were going to start a move of violence, they would be stopped. If they insulted the policeman, the policeman was to smile; but if the crowd started toward a policeman to take physical action the policemen were to take action first and hardest. That is the distinction: talk permitted, action not permitted.

Well, they had between ten and twelve thousand people at the meeting. The orators were all there, Emma Goldman, Bergman and all the rest of them. They could make no impression. The meeting lasted from about two until about six. The crowd disappeared. There was no bloodshed, no violence, nothing but a really orderly meeting, addressed by a lot of wild men and women. That policy was steadily pursued, with the result that the movement which looked so menacing petered out.

THE DUTY OF LEADERSHIP

NOW, what is the duty of the American citizen with reference to that sort of thing? I feel firmly that the minority must be given full chance to try to convert itself into a majority, but we are falling far short of meeting the test of citizenship if we simply give them their full rights and let them go ahead. If we believe that our form of government, though it may have a good many things which we

would like to change, is a pretty good form of government if we believe that there has been enough progress under it and that there is promise of enough progress in the future so that we should not throw it out and try something else; that it is too good to give up—it is the duty of the leadership of the country to meet the efforts of the minority face to face and man to man.

A friend of mine the other day on the train to Detroit got into conversation in the smoking room with a couple of young fellows who, it turned out, were members of the American Legion. One had been a corporal, and one a sergeant. They were enthusiastic members of their American Legion Post in Detroit. They made up their minds that the way to meet the efforts of the revolutionists in Detroit was to beat them at their own game, so they had arranged for a meeting in a hall in Detroit, and had invited the reddest of the local reds to come and debate with them.

My friend was going beyond Detroit, but he came back two or three days later and ran into one of these fellows and asked him how his meeting had gone on, and the man was as mad a man as he had ever seen. He said they had not had any meeting, that the police learned these reds were going to speak there and they had forbidden the meeting. Now, that police action was as wrong as it could be, and the effort that was made by the sergeant or the corporal was as right as it could be. They were going to meet these people on their own ground and were going to match their facts against the other people's arguments. They were going to meet misrepresentations with a fair presentation of the facts, and they were confident they were going to come out on top. As one of them said, "If we cannot put it over that fellow, we shall begin to wonder whether he may not be right."

That is where the leadership of the country comes in, and that is where university men come in. A man gets in a university not merely a certain amount of knowledge of certain subjects; he gets a feeling of *noblesse oblige*. He catches a spirit of obligation. If he does not, his education may be merely dangerous. The university man, with his spirit of

obligation, with his trained mind, is the man who, as much as anyone else, certainly, can take part in the discussions that are going on all over the country, and guide people towards sound conclusions. He does not necessarily have to go to a red meeting. His power to think straight is something which he will find is an enormous handicap in his favor when he tackles any subject. The clean-working mind is what is needed to puncture the speciousness of the revolutionary argument. The educated men of the country, if they simply adopt, as is so easy, the attitude of irresponsible optimism, are not doing their part to keep the country from going toward experiments which cannot help doing harm.

Isn't it fair to say that a test of American citizenship will be found in the persistence, in the intelligence, in the devotion of the sound-thinking classes of the public, rich and poor, native born and foreign born, to find out the facts, to remove the grievance, and to work together along the lines that we have found to be good toward something better and better still?

RANK

By RALPH M. THOMSON

Love is no advocate of caste—
  No pompous prince, no royal drone,
Whose heart is fettered to a past,
  Whose soul is not his own.

Love is a freeman, bent on bliss,
  Who scatters incense where he goes,
And bids the peasant sunbeams kiss
  Alike the weed and rose.

OUR FOREIGN-TRADE PROBLEM

RESULTS OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

By HON. HUSTON THOMPSON
[*Vice Chairman Federal Trade Commission*]

IT is but a brief span since the United States was absorbed in but one great economic problem—domestic industry. But the development of machinery and the rapid growth of our industries have forced us from our domestic isolation into the international game. Our production has been so speeded up and expanded that unless we would let our economic fabric go down we must carry our surplus to the waiting consumer of other nations. Modern improvements in transportation and communication have brought us close to other countries across the seas. Industrially we are already in the markets of the world, just as, governmentally, we have become next-door neighbors of the other nations.

This was the prophetic background to the problem that confronted Congress in 1918, when the Webb-Pomerene law was drafted: how to develop our foreign trade and at the same time protect the domestic consumer who fears that competition in the foreign market may injure the home interests. Congress solved the problem by reposing in the Federal Trade Commission powers of supervision and control over those wishing to export in combinations, and the regulation of competition between competitive units projecting their activities in foreign markets.

Whether the Webb-Pomerene Act will serve as a successful vehicle by which we shall reach those foreign markets and obtain our fair share of their business, depends in a very great part on us. And if we shall meet with success in securing the business of foreign markets, we must gain first and keep always the confidence of the people in those markets.

GOOD RESULTS FROM MISSIONARY EFFORT

FOR many years travelers returning from the Orient have spoken in derogatory terms of the missionary and the utter futility of his work. The world war has dispelled this idea. It has come to be thoroughly known that this band of pioneers who spread throughout Asia and in their humble way held up an idealism have so imprinted their views on the Orient that today the individual over there believes that this idealism is representative of the spirit prevailing in America. Our Government in the Orient has lived up to this high calling of its pioneers. Today our work in the Philippines is known from Asia Minor to Hong Kong and in the South Sea Islands. Even the peasant of Asia in his mountain fastness will explain to you that the American idea of seeking not to impress its own power on those whose lands have come under America's control, but to assist the colonial in developing himself, has reached him and stirred in him a desire for such assistance, that he, too, may develop himself and his country.

One of the most encouraging and illuminating things of the late war was the manner in which China followed the lead of the United States. Was it a thing of chance? The answer is decidedly no. That marvelous good will and confidence that China has displayed toward us was the result of three things: first, the seed sown by the missionary; second, the knowledge of our attitude and action in the Philippines; and third, the return of the Boxer Indemnity fund.

The story of this fund will bear repeating. After that unfortunate uprising the indemnity agreed upon by the powers and charged against China for the United States was approximately $24,000,000. Instead of accepting the full amount, as did the other powers, Congress by resolution reduced the amount to approximately $13,000,000, as an "act of friendship." Proceedings were begun in the Court of Claims for damages to American property; those affected presented their evidence and the claims were adjudicated. As Assistant Attorney General of the United States at the time, I was in charge of that litigation. Finally there remained a

debt of about $9,600,000 which the United States agreed to refund to the Chinese Government, this amount to form the nucleus of a scholarship fund for the purpose of sending Chinese boys and girls to be educated in our institutions. From that day we have had an average of three hundred students a year from China who have sought to possess themselves of the best under our Government and take it back to China, where many of them have become most prominent. Not only this, but the various provinces of China have followed the example of the Government and have sent, in addition to the three hundred students, approximately four hundred at the expense of the various provinces, making a total of seven hundred students a year.

The good will created by this act, simple in itself and not stated because of any glorification on the part of our nation, has not only shown us how to gain the confidence of a people, but has opened the markets of China to the American to such a degree that with the open-door policy maintained the American cannot fail to succeed if he follows the dictates of fair competition. With China, as with many other countries of the Orient, our prosperity will be measured by their prosperity, and ours limited only in so far as we limit our service to them. We must insist that our business shall be done on a basis of mutual benefit to American and Chinese alike. Our attitude toward other nations in the foreign markets will be one of friendly competition based upon price, quality, service, and efficiency. We shall expect to be accorded the same benefits resulting from such competition.

THE WEBB-POMERENE ACT

IT was this conception and vision that President Wilson and our Congress had when the Webb-Pomerene law was enacted. Whatever may be said of this Act, it was passed by legislators who had high hopes that they were doing that which would benefit American business men, would not injure the domestic consumer, and would not exploit the foreign consumer. It was the hope of the proponents of the bill that

it would enable the small manufacturers and producers of America, by combining and thereby saving prohibitive overhead expenses, to get their goods into the foreign market where formerly they were unable to do so; that in cutting down the expenses of reaching the foreign market American exports could be sold in competition at a lower price, and thus benefit the foreign consumer. It was expected that the sections of the Act giving control to the Federal Trade Commission, not only of the Webb-Pomerene combinations but all of the American exporters in foreign markets and of their competitive methods in relation thereto, would result in regulating competition in the foreign market between American competitors, just as much as competition is regulated in our domestic market; that such regulation could only redound to the benefit of the home competitor in the foreign market or to the competitors of other nations. It was believed that full protection was given by the Act to the domestic market from the possibility of exploitation, through the supervision of the Federal Trade Commission.

The fears of the Congressional minority were based on the idea that this law would mean the breaking down of the Sherman Act; that it would seriously injure domestic trade; that the Webb-Pomerene associations might be used as a means of price fixing for domestic sales; and that competition in domestic trade would inevitably be eliminated when those composing the Webb-Pomerene associations gathered together and exchanged information for the purpose of forwarding their export business.

FOREIGN ALARM OVER THE LAW

THE law had hardly been enacted when criticisms from business men and organizations of other countries sounded the alarm. Attacks were hurled at the law from business in every corner of the globe. The press and business organizations of the Argentine, Great Britain, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and other nations combining for the purpose of invading foreign markets, and also combining

to purchase imports, criticised the Webb-Pomerene Act for permitting our industries to do in exporting just what they had been doing. In Great Britain alone there were over five hundred combinations in 1919. In Australia, where the criticism was particularly bitter, a Sydney correspondent of a London newspaper, on February 14, 1920, said: "The wool growers and wool-selling brokers of six states have formed a national wool council which is anticipated to speak with one voice for the Australian wool industry." And Sir John Higgins is quoted as saying that "wool growers and wool brokers would never have such an opportunity again to create an organization which could virtually determine the selling price for their wool," and that if they did unite "they could dictate the price of merino wool to the whole world."

Though hostility to the law still prevails in Australia and other countries, it is pleasing to note that our Canadian cousins, having closely observed its effects, have stated their belief that the Webb-Pomerene Act in due time will prove a factor in increasing the trade of the United States with their markets.

It is strange that the foreign critics of the Act, who must have read it in the most cursory way, failed to take notice of that section which gives the Federal Trade Commission the power to prevent unfair competition among the American exporters and to follow their transactions through to culmination. And it will be noted that the criticisms aimed at the law do not come from foreign governments or consumers, but from foreign competitors. The officials of these governments have suddenly become awake to the same situation that confronted our Congress when drafting the Webb-Pomerene Act. In the effort of their manufacturers to push their foreign trade, these governments fear a danger to their domestic consumer. Their problem is well stated by President Wilson in his address to Congress on December 5, 1916, when advocating this bill:

> "We should clear away all legal obstacles and create a basis of undoubted law for building up our export trade, a law which will give freedom without permitting unregulated license."

In the Parliaments of Great Britain, Argentina, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, this problem is being debated. The only solution seems to them to point toward the creation of a body such as our Federal Trade Commission, with regulatory control over their manufacturers in foreign trade. Canada, after an intimate study of our Commission, enacted a law similar to our Federal Trade Commission Act. Australia and New Zealand have already created bodies similar to the Federal Trade Commission. But no other nation has given any governmental body the authority to regulate the acts of its manufacturers and producers beyond its own shores. To America alone belongs the honor of being the first to take such an advanced step.

Such is the background in which the Webb-Pomerene Act has been making itself articulate. Such have been the fears at home and the hostile criticism abroad. For two years the law has been in existence. How far have the hopes and fears been realized? The answer would undoubtedly have been much more definite if times had been normal. Six months of its existence was covered by the fighting period, and eighteen months have elapsed since the Armistice. It is hard to imagine two years more abnormal.

PRACTICAL WORKINGS OF THE ACT

THE Commission has been proceeding with great caution in the administration of the act. It set up the machinery immediately upon the enactment of the law, and began an intensive study of the situation in the foreign markets, the attitude of foreign competitors, and the international problems confronting not only our own nation but other nations. While action under the law is only in its infancy, already much of interest has come to light as revealed by the records and files of the Commission.

Disregarding the concerns which for one reason or another did not qualify under the provisions of the Act, there are now forty-two which have filed their charters, articles of association, agreements, etc., with the Federal Trade Commission in compliance with the Export Trade Act.

A better picture can be formed of how the Act affects our national industrial life if we realize that these export associations comprise a total of 734 members, whose plants and factories, numbering about one thousand, are distributed over forty-six States of the Union. In the State of New York there are 118 plants, in Pennsylvania 87, Massachusetts 81. Along the Pacific Coast we find 15 plants in California, 62 in Washington, and 19 in Oregon. In the North Central States there are 35 in Illinois, 46 in Wisconsin, 29 in Minnesota, and 18 in Michigan. In the South there are 16 in Texas, 5 in Louisiana, and 10 in Florida.

The products and commodities exported by the different export associations are drawn from all sections of our country.

The individual members of the associations constitute small and large concerns, some with a capital as small as $10,000, and employing but a small number of workmen. In some of the larger plants thousands of American workmen are employed.

Viewing the situation as a whole, therefore, we see the effects of this new trade machinery reaching out into every part of our country, opening up new arteries of commerce, stimulating industrial life, and above all, helping to promote our export trade.

There have then been some positive results from the two years' operation of this law which merit attention. It has made it possible for the small manufacturer and producer to get his surplus into the foreign market. It has put the export business of this country functioning under this law upon a more economic basis. It has saved overhead expenses. Our manufacturers have been taught to cultivate a permanent market. Through the study of a prospective market it has prevented exporters from taking a speculative chance.

Thus far there have been no complaints brought to the notice of the Federal Trade Commission from foreign consumers against those operating under this law. The abnormal times have made it impossible to determine what effect sales

through Webb-Pomerene associations have on the domestic market. The Commission under the authority granted to it by Section 4 to extend the powers granted under the Federal Trade Commission Act to competitive American corporations or individuals engaged in export trade, has already been a corrective force and influence in the matter of preventing unfair competition between such exporters, whether combined in Webb-Pomerene associations or not.

SUPERVISION OF EXPORTERS

IT is only fair to say that American export business submits itself today under the Webb-Pomerene Act, just as our domestic business does under the Federal Trade Commission Act, to the supervision of an arbiter on the matter of competition in a manner not required of the industries of any other nation; that today by the Webb-Pomerene Act we are the only nation which has empowered a Governmental department to stop unfair practices between our exporters, whether they be in China or South America or any other part of the world; that in view of this control of the actions of our business men in other countries, this law should be welcomed by the consumers of the countries to which we export, and should not be feared by foreign competitors.

Since we have taken this step is it not proper that we should invite the other nations of the world to likewise supervise their exporters in their methods of competition? Until the other nations do so, the final great step in the reorganization of the world's business is likely to be delayed, *i. e.*, the formation of an International Trade Commission by the nations of the world. It is a most hopeful sign that the Pan-American Financial Congress, lately convened in Washington, declared in favor of such an international trade commission for the Pan-American Republics. In inviting our friends to take this step, we hold out to them as our purpose and intent that which is so beautifully phrased in the speech of

President Wilson in his message to Congress on May 20, 1919, wherein he says:

> "I believe that our business men, our merchants and our capitalists will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere; that there is in a very true sense a solidarity of interest throughout the world of enterprise, and that our dealings with the countries that have need of our products and our money will teach them to deem us more than ever friends whose necessities we seek in the right way to serve."

IRON

By RICHARD BUTLER GLAENZER

In Hayti's squalid Ville du Cap,
Watching a native whet his knife,
It came upon me like a clap
That more than half the zest of life
Springs out of iron torn from stone;
That little else is worth a rap,
Concession made to flesh and bone.

I seemed to see the Searcher, Man,
Welding, then breaking, bonds of steel;
High purpose shining through his plan
To forge and temper and anneal;
And in the sword, the scythe, the rail,
Dragging him on from Caliban
To Godhead, magnets like the Grail.

BIG THINKERS ON FRENZIED INFLATION

THEIR REMEDIES FOR THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND WORLD UNREST

By ALFRED E. KEET

"These are difficult times for all of us. We need sanity, courage and good will, the rooting out of suspicion, the dying of anger. I believe—how firmly I believe it!—that even at the cost of heavy burdens we must try to pick up the broken, to instil new heart into the hopeless, to be ready with the hand of fellowship and the smile of friendship to greet all who raise themselves even from the dust in an effort to do something to build a saner world out of the fragments of a broken era."—*Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States.*

WE are still confronted with rising prices for foodstuffs, coal, oil, gasoline, lumber, print paper, and countless other necessaries of life. The purchasing power of our dollar has dwindled to 50 cents, and there has been a steady shrinkage in the market value of our bonds and other gilt-edged, so-called, securities. The income from these securities, from savings-bank deposits, annuities, etc., is today only half as much, in purchasing power, as it was before the war. Along with this there is a maladjustment of the machinery of international commerce, registered in chaotic rates of exchange.

There is a labor scarcity and a food scarcity. In fact, Mr. J. R. Howard, President of the Farm Bureau Federation, predicts that bread lines within a year in all large cities may be expected if something is not done quickly to increase food production. "Every immediate condition indicates lower agricultural production," he says. "Under present conditions of marketing and transportation cost of living must go higher and higher, until the time comes when limits are reached and belts of hungry urbanites can be no further shortened. Then

a back-to-the-land movement will begin in such volume that industry will suffer."

There can be no doubt that efficiency in distribution, by railroads and other carriers, is imperatively necessary if prices are to fall. Our railroads are paralyzed, as things are now, and cannot adequately handle traffic. They must be improved, and made competent to move the necessaries of life to market with a minimum loss of time.

As matters stand, fifty per cent of our farm production annually rots on the ground for lack of means to get it to the market, and at the present moment there is a shortage in this country, in addition to locomotives, of 800,000 freight cars.

As to our highways, now used daily by 7,500,000 motor vehicles and 30,000,000 people, such is their condition that, according to a Congressional investigation, the waste due to unimproved roads is $500,000,000 annually!

Conspicuously to blame also for the high cost of living and all the incident unrest in the country is the world-wide paper-money inflation. Since 1914 the world's paper money has increased from $7,000,000,000 to about $55,000,000,000 at the present time; the world's national debts from $40,000,000,000 in 1913 to $265,000,000,000 in 1920. In addition there has been a vast increase in the world's credits, which is another form of inflation. During this war period the world's gold stock increased only $2,000,000,000 and since the Armistice the world's increase of paper money has been no less than $16,000,000,000, nearly half the amount issued during the whole period of the war.

All this stupendous inflation represents the economic waste of war, a loss now reflected in existing conditions.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leffingwell declares that three principal causes for existing inflation and resultant unrest were: world inflation and internationalization of prices; heavy Government expenditures and Government interference with business; reaction and waste among masses of the people.

Now, how is the world to right itself—stabilize itself economically, return to a normal, even if newer, basis? How can deflation be safely accomplished, the cost of living lowered, labor unrest quieted, and peaceful and prosperous conditions once more established, not only in these United States of America, but throughout the rest of the war-stricken world?

"WORK AND SAVE" THE WATCHWORD

MR. JAMES S. ALEXANDER, President of the National Bank of Commerce of New York, emphasizes the necessity of the greatest possible number of people doing a day's work. The motto "work and save," he says, "represents in every sense a national necessity with us. . . . The world situation cannot be helped one iota by all the planning and discussion and clear thinking of the combined bankers and business men of the world unless all the peoples of the world return to their healthy and normal tasks and begin to do a day's work."

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has placed itself on record in favor of a "constructive Americanism," and, in its opinion, "It is essential that our Government should scrupulously refrain from entering any of the fields of transportation, communication, industry and commerce, or any phase of business when it can be successfully undertaken and conducted by private enterprise. Any tendency of Government to enter such field should be carefully weighed in light of its possible effect upon the very genius of our institutions."

As Senator Edge expressed it: "There is too much Government in business and not enough business in the Government."

Mr. Hoover points out the need of constructive measures at this time, and says:

"In fact, all the different party platforms will urge some form of a League of Nations, a business reorganization of Federal Administration, an economy in Government, a nation-

al budget, readjustment of taxation, reduction of cost of living, suppression of profiteering, betterment of agricultural industry, improved relations between capital and labor, better distribution of wealth, an American merchant marine, maintenance of civil liberty, extension of education, improvement of waterways and many other items.

"I am for all of these things, but I wish to call attention to the fact that they will be put forward by every party. . . .

"The people will value a platform as a higher purpose if it is tangible and definite in the proposals for solution of its items. For instance, it is not enough to denounce profiteering; a statement of the specific economic steps by which the rise in prices must be checked and equilibrium restored is required. Profiteering justifies great denunciation, but constructive steps do not lend themselves to oratorical presentation. They involve such dull things as reduction of inflation, readjustment of taxation, better distribution through organization of the agricultural industry, better transportation, the practical reduction of losses and margins and risks between producers and consumers. Above all, the problem involves an understanding that profiteering is the effect, not the cause; that the solution must be economic and that the Attorney General's policemen cannot overtake an economic force allowed to run riot in the country."

Ours is a practical people, Mr. Hoover adds, and wants action to suit the words—the development of the common will, not the views of one man—and they are beginning to realize that "words without action are the assassins of idealism."

CAN WE "THINK" LOWER PRICES?

THE United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics said something cogent recently:

"The profiteer is being blamed on all hands for the increase in prices. Undoubtedly, profiteering of a most reprehensible sort has existed and does exist today, but the profiteer is a result of ever-increasing prices rather than a cause

thereof. His influence in boosting prices is negligible. If all the profiteers in the world could be apprehended and thrown into jail or lined up and shot it would have no appreciable influence upon prices.

"It has been suggested that the abnormally high prices are psychological in origin and that prices will fall just as soon as the people can be made to think falling prices. Of course, psychology is involved in every price, but the larger quantities of currency and the smaller amounts of commodities are physical facts that no psychic legerdemain can overcome."

The well-known international banker, Mr. Paul M. Warburg, offers these remedies for our present ills:

"First, we must fight inflation with all the means at our disposal; by arresting the further increase of Government indebtedness and, if possible, reducing it.

"Second, by calling a halt in further bank credit and note issue expansion. We would thereby destroy the atmosphere of easy money and paper prosperity that makes for individual and corporate extravagance and fosters discontent among the masses, rendering them disinclined to give their full measure of work. This includes the most difficult task of curbing the production of nonessentials and of stimulating the production of essentials.

"And finally, we must fight rising prices by stimulating essential production, both here and abroad, which means that we must furnish Europe with the materials required in order to rehabilitate her industries, so that once more she may become self-supporting."

A PANIC IS LIKELY

A PANIC is likely, is the belief of Mr. A. Barton Hepburn, of the Chase National Bank, unless care is exercised in handling the present situation. "All the elements of a panic are not under the surface but right on it, and all panaceas are useless," is his somewhat startling statement.

And Professor Willis, of Columbia University, declares

that "there was a debauch of speculation all over the country —that it was as bad in the country and in the cotton States as in the financial districts and that it produced identical results."

In the opinion of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leffingwell, there is only one remedy:

"The nation must get together, stop bickering and face the critical situation which confronts the world, as we should a foreign war.

"Government expenditures must be cut to the quick, we must abjure bonuses and realize promptly on all salable war assets, including ships, applying the proceeds to the war debt."

He attacks the Government's administrative policy as "penny wise, pound foolish," and wants a national budget "with teeth in it." He concludes:

"We must promptly revise our tax laws to make them more equitable and less burdensome without reducing the revenue. We must restore the railroads to a self-supporting basis by establishing rates which will insure a return for capital and labor commensurate with the return to be had elsewhere at a time when there is a world-wide shortage of both. And, above all, we must work and save. We must produce more, but, more important still, we must consume less."

PRODUCTION AND FOREIGN COMPETITION

MR. GEORGE E. ROBERTS, the financier, declares that:

"The people of no country can do more than work all the time, and however efficient they may be in production they will not be able on the whole to do any more than supply their own wants, because their wants will develop as fast as their production, which is the measure of their buying power. It does not follow that they will supply all their own wants directly; they never do that; a country naturally sends abroad a part of its production in exchange for the production of other countries, but the population of every country will

gladly consume the equivalent of its own production, and in the long run is bound to do so. . . .

"One of the grievances alleged against the labor organizations is that they sometimes limit the output, acting upon the theory that there is only a limited amount of work to be done, and that it is to their interest to make it go as far and pay as much in wages as possible. Every such conception of industry and business is fundamentally wrong. There is no limit to the amount of work to be done or the amount of business to be had, because there is no limit to the amount of wealth that may be created from the natural resources, or to the consumptive demands of the world's population."

At a recent meeting in New York of bankers and economists the consensus of opinion was that Government should at once curtail its expenses and that the people should attempt in every way to increase production and to check waste of all kinds. One of the remedies approved was that the people should hold their Liberty bonds and not use them as legal tender and that Congress should take some step immediately to prevent decline in market value of those securities. Relaxation of Government interference with business and industries, such as railroads, immediate steps toward paying off war debts, and cessation of arbitrary attempts to name interest rates for capital and wages for labor also were mentioned as remedies.

Professor Hollander, who holds the chair of Political Economy at Johns Hopkins University, says the Government should stop adding to our money supply, and do all in its power to reduce the vast amount already in existence. Other remedial measures in his opinion are—increased production, greater public economy and private thrift and revision of our taxation system. "Stop wailing about the high cost of living," is his advice, "and do a little hard thinking of your own as to what has brought it about and how it can be helped."

The report of the Commission on European Finance of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, by its Chairman, Mr. James S. Alexander, thus concludes:

"A most immediate and important problem for this country is how to extend further credit to foreign nations without bringing about added inflation at home. It is generally conceded that further inflation of our credit structure must be checked if commodity prices are to decline or even to remain stationary. Advancing commodity prices would more than offset any gain to European purchasers through better exchange rates. In other words, this country is in position to extend further credit to foreign nations solely by curtailment of its own expenditures and by increase in its own production. To create increased purchasing power by the creation of additional credits without at least a corresponding increase in the amount of commodities available for export is of no advantage to foreign nations and is dangerous to our own country. Far better would it be to leave the situation to find its solution in the natural course of events than to create new credits and purchasing power the effect of which would be merely to increase the cost of living here and abroad and the unrest resulting therefrom."

Mr. A. C. Bedford, of the Standard Oil Company, urges co-operation between business men, the sinking of petty differences and jealousies: the "return of our people to a realization of the dignity of labor."

WHAT LABOR HAS TO SAY

IT is of extreme interest in this crisis, after Capital has spoken, to hear what Labor has to say with regard to the world-wide unrest and the many suggested remedies.

On the subject of Production, Mr. Gompers has this to say:

"Only out of production can we all grow prosperous and every aid to production that does not involve human waste is a benefit to society. If the added production is gained at the cost of a human being then it does not help society, because even from a cold standpoint of economics it tends toward overproduction by destroying in the very making of the product those who would directly or indirectly buy that

product. Whatever are the evils in the distribution of the products of work (and there are many of them), those evils are not going to be cured by producing less.

"That will not solve the problem of distribution. That will provide humanity with one bone instead of two to snarl about. As I said before, I am in favor of every possible device which will increase the productivity of human labor and increase its standards. This is best done with the assistance of science. There can be no objection to really scientific management—(not the so-called scientific management with its stop-watch methods and bonuses), that which is for the benefit of all of the parties to industry and not only of one. As an employer I should know that it would be shortsighted to expect to get steadily more from my workers and at the same time give them steadily less.

"The better industrial engineers who are interested in improving industry and not merely in coddling employers know this to be a fact and they regard an inequality in pay—that is, a pay which is less than the performance—as a waste of human resource, and pursue such wastes as belligerently as they pursue any other wastes. . . .

"The old 'ca' canny' methods originated by the Scotch, the limitation of production, the idea that there is only a certain amount of work in this world to do and that it must be spread out thin, are dead and ought never to be revived, and will never be revived. As an employer I should discriminate between the union organized for work and the organization falsely called a 'union' which is organized to prevent work."

Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, recently speaking before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at its convention at Atlantic City, had this to say:

"The Kansas law has its analogy in Russia, where they are shooting men to keep them at work. Were I to be an advocate of Governor Allen and his compulsory service law then I would also become a disciple of Eugene V. Debs and an advocate of sovietism as proposed by Lenine and Trotzky. You

can't throttle dissatisfaction. You can't increase production by chaining men to machines. You can't dominate men that way. Let us continue to pay the price of liberty in this country. I repeat that this proposal of Governor Allen's has its analogy in Russia and has its advocates in the Industrial Workers of the World and in the Communist Labor party."

Governor Allen, who was present when Mr. Woll spoke, thus replied:

"I do not seek to bait Mr. Woll nor to have this discussion take the direction of a debate. What we stand here this hour to give evidence of is whether any class under our Government shall live above the law. I appear, not representing capital and not representing labor, but representing the need of protection of the American public in this industrial controversy. Society has the right to take jurisdiction over offenses taken against it in the name of industrial welfare."

A LARGER CONSUMPTION, NOT PRODUCTION, WANTED

JAMES H. MAURER, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, recently expressed himself, as representing organized labor, on the remedy of increased production for the present unrest. His views are startling, running counter, as they do, to those of Mr. Gompers and other labor experts:

"Increase production? Produce more commodities? WHAT FOR? Aren't the workers NOW producing billions of dollars worth more than their wages will ever buy back—MORE than they are permitted to consume? Is increased production the solution for the problem confronting the workers? . . .

"The problem for the worker is, NOT increased production, but INCREASED CONSUMPTION. Not how to produce more, but HOW TO CONSUME MORE."

In conclusion, it appears unnecessary to comment upon or attempt to analyze the foregoing causes of, and remedies for, the high cost of living. Though the doctors disagree,

the patient will undoubtedly survive his monstrous overdose of paper money, and his disease—a somewhat common one, inflation—will in time leave him.

"The advanced cost of living," declares Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, "is due largely to tomfoolery. Those largely responsible for everlasting baiting of corporations as such, and those who are making the loudest noise about the tremendous increase in living due to profiteering are the people who are to blame most for the high prices."

MY PORTION

By Frederic B. Bard

Give me a horse that knows my hand,
And a collie dog to understand
Each word I say—as he would, you know.
House us all on a plateau high,
With a reaching view of lands and sky,
And you can have the rest of the world—
This is enough for me.

PUTTING CHINA ON HER FEET

A BANKING UNION TO ASSIST CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT

By THOMAS W. LAMONT

IN October, 1918, the United States Government proposed to the Governments of Great Britain, France and Japan that they should encourage and support banking groups in each of the countries mentioned in the formation of a New Consortium for the purpose of assisting China in the development of her great public enterprises. The United States Government proposed that the New Consortium should have a wider scope than the old Consortium had possessed; that it should be in the nature of a free and full partnership among the banking groups named; that options or concessions already held by individual banking groups on which substantial progress had not been made, should, so far as feasible, be pooled with the Consortium; that working on these two principles, as just stated, the operations of the Consortium would serve to prevent for the future the setting up of social spheres of influence. The United States Government's proposals laid great stress on this latter point, as being highly effective in doing away with international jealousies that had formerly been engendered and in helping to preserve the integrity and independence of China.

These proposals also made clear that it was not to be the aim of the Consortium to concern itself with general enterprises in banking, industry or commerce, but rather to include within its scope only those basic enterprises, such, for instance, as the development of transportation systems, highways, reorganization of the currency, etc., as would serve to establish sounder economic conditions throughout China and thus form a firmer foundation for the encouragement of private initiative and trade.

REAL AIM OF THE CONSORTIUM

SPECIFICALLY, it was planned that the Consortium's operations should deal primarily with loans to the Chinese Republic, or to the Provinces of the Republic, or loans guaranteed by the Republic or by its Provinces and, in each instance, of character sufficiently important to warrant a public issue; thus effectively avoiding the curtailment of private initiative and enterprise in China.

These proposals, formulated by the United States Government, were duly approved by the other three Governments to which they were addressed, and at the instance of these Governments the respective banking groups that had been formed in each of the four countries directed their representatives to meet for organization purposes in Paris in May, 1919. These representatives duly convened and, it may be added, in each instance represented a much larger banking group than was the case in the old Consortium. For instance, the American banking group had been expanded from five to thirty-one member banks, the Japanese had been increased to eighteen members and both the British and French groups also had been increased. At the organization conference in Paris harmony of spirit and purpose was attained among all the four groups and the Corsortium was duly organized; its agreement, however, as unanimously adopted, to be subject to the approval of the respective Governments.

JAPAN UNCERTAIN ABOUT JOINING

IN the case of Great Britain, France and the United States, this agreement was approved without change, but the Japanese Government qualified its approval by reserving certain portions of Manchuria and Mongolia from the scope of the Consortium.

This difficulty still existing, I was requested by the American Banking Group, with the approval of the British and French Banking Groups and also with the approval of the State Department at Washington, to visit Japan, and after that, China, for the purpose of making an adequate re-

port on the whole situation to the various banking groups involved.

In Japan I ascertained that certain misapprehensions existed as to the objects of the Consortium; but after conferences with the representatives of the Japanese Banking Group I found them unanimous in their desire to enter the Consortium without reservation and on the same terms as those pertaining to the other banking groups; and I received from these Japanese bankers assurances that they expected in the near future to obtain from their Government formal approval to their entry into the Consortium. Until this formal approval is received and notified to me, the Japanese group cannot be considered as members of the Consortium. If, by any chance, the assurances given to me by the Japanese bankers should prove to have been unfounded and the Japanese Government continue to withhold its assent, then I apprehend that Japan would be the chief loser by reason of its failure to become a member of the Consortium.

CHINA'S ATTITUDE

SINCE my arrival in China I have had interesting and important discussions with bankers and men of affairs in regard to the aims of the Consortium and in regard to China's attitude towards it. In every instance I have explained that it was quite impossible for me to give in detail all the plans of the Consortium, because such plans remain yet to be formed. My mission to China is largely for the purpose of securing information adequate enough to enable the Groups to base their future policies upon. While being unable to enter into detail as to the future, I can yet lay down certain principles which the American Group will advocate and which I am assured the Consortium, if finally and effectively organized, will follow.

First, then, the Consortium will be ready to undertake operations only in the event that the people of China desire it to do so. The Consortium hopes to be able to proffer its material assistance to China in her economic development.

It remains for China to decide whether she will accept or reject this proffer.

Second, in case China desires the assistance of the Consortium, then it will be for China to render that desire effective by cordial co-operation with, trust in and approval of the aims and work of the Consortium. By this, I do not necessarily mean complete approval of every detail, but general approval and co-operation; for unless the Consortium has these its every endeavor is bound to fail.

THE CONSORTIUM'S RESPONSIBILITY TO THE CHINESE

THIRD, in laying its plans the Consortium is under a heavy double responsibility, first, the responsibility to the Chinese people; we have to see to it that any loans made to China are for constructive, not for wasteful, purposes, and are used for the up-building and development of the country. In order that both China and the Consortium shall be assured that such worthy objects are being attained, the organization of some proper system of audit must be mutually worked out, so that we may be certain as to the proper application of loan funds.

Such an audit plan does not interfere with China's right to govern her own affairs. The Consortium must not, and it will not, take a hand in China's political affairs; but it is manifestly to the interest of all concerned that there be established a proper supervision of loan expenditure, such a supervision to be exercised as far as possible through native assistance.

The Consortium's second responsibility is to its investors at home. In case its operations should develop upon a considerable scale, the funds wherewith to provide loans to China must come from the great body of private investors in the four countries already named, and to them the Consortium will have the moral responsibility of seeing to it that their investments in China are designed and expended for construc-

tive purposes. On this point the Consortium must, in due course, render an account of its stewardship.

TO MOBILIZE CHINESE WEALTH

FINALLY, I may say that the American Banking Group, which I represent—and I am assured the other banking groups equally with us—have a strong faith in the resources, the industry and the integrity of the Chinese people. They believe that today there exists in China a large amount of wealth, liquid as well as latent, which needs only to be mobilized in order for China to furnish herself with fairly ample means for development. The American Group hopes that the operations of the Consortium will be so carried out as to command, not only that essential confidence and co-operation from the Chinese people, but also, as time goes on, material support from their latent wealth which is so abundant. We venture to hope that these four banking groups, working together in co-operation with the Chinese men of affairs, will be a factor in establishing a more cordial and intimate relationship among the peoples of all these five great nations and thus contribute materially to the permanent prosperity and peace of the Far East.

SHANGHAI, *April 6, 1920.*

THE THEATRE IN REVIEW

By C. Courtenay Savage

THESE are the dog days of the theatrical world. In a month, when the weather is really hot, the new season of 1920-1 will be upon us, but these cool days of early summer are too hot for metropolitan productions. Off in the hinterland which is known as "the road" there are busy managers and busier actors. They are preparing the productions for next year. Back at the home office the press agent is busily telling the newspaper men what these productions will be. Printed, they make a formidable list, but when one considers that only about twenty-five per cent of these plays really reach the stage,—well, the season will not be any more crowded than usual.

Of the plays that are coming in, the majority are entertainment of the lightest variety, comedies mostly—with a sprinkling of summer revues.

Musical

GEORGE WHITE, for instance, who used to be one of the dancing company at the Follies until he graduated last year to the ranks of the producers, is offering a second revue which promises to be as happy an annual show as the Follies themselves. The chief reason for this, as last season's, is Anne Pennington. She dances her way through this latest edition, and time after time enchants her audience. Mr. White, more of a producer than a dancer this year, does his familiar dance imitations, while a score of other clever people make fun, or offer musical numbers. Then, of course, there are the chorus girls without which no real summer show could last. They are of the usual pulchritude, and blend nicely with several elaborate stage settings. It would hardly

be fair to say that Mr. White excels Mr. Ziegfield, but he is certainly a keen competitor.

Ed Wynn, who is really one of the funniest extemporaneous comedians of the modern stage, is also a producer, heading a revue which he chooses to call "Ed Wynn's Carnival." It is just that. He has scores of pretty girls about him, several clever vaudevilians who offer more or less familiar laughable specialties and his own brand of humor. He is always in evidence, from the time the show starts, to his cordial good-night which he offers at the door as the audience departs, and, no matter what he is doing, he has a brand of humor all his own. Some people do not like him. They are few in number, the majority will find his new show an excellent cure for the warm weather, and other perplexing things in modern life.

But there is no escaping the fact that Mr. Ziegfield is the master of the Summer Revue. One realizes the fact after seeing his new edition of the Follies. Other venturesome and clever producers may offer good entertainment that competes with Mr. Ziegfield's annual production, but none of them have, as yet, surpassed him, or ever quite filled the niche of popularity which he has carved for himself, and so far kept wholly for his own work.

The girls, of course, are of paramount interest. They are all as beautiful as in other years, and their fame will go forth as being up to the Follies standard. Fortunately, this year, the show does not need them to prop up the principals, for there are many clever fun-makers, and they are generously supplied with material of the laugh brand. Ray Dooley, for instance, proves that a crying baby can be hilariously amusing, while Fannie Bryce with her Jewish characterization romps through several scenes, being much more generous with her humor than in former years. And W. C. Fields is again in prominence, doing his juggling tricks which no one has ever been able to successfully imitate. Of course, there are a number of clever songs, and the splendid tenor voice that John Steele disclosed last year is again on hand to sing them. Van and Schenck, also veterans of other Follies pro-

ductions, are much in evidence, and a little dancer named Mary Eaton flits about the stage as if on the breath of a breeze. There are others, of course, a score of them, to fill in the bits with singing or dancing, also some handsome scenes, with two of Ben Ali Haggin's tableaus by way of extra measure.

This season's Follies is certainly up to the usual measure, and possibly may be said to surpass its predecessors.

Comedies—Minus Music

A CHARMING comedy, one that carries the audience back to the romantic days of the early seventies, is "Not So Long Ago." Arthur Richman is the author, and the Messrs. Shubert have produced it, with an excellent cast headed by Eva Le Gallienne and Sidney Blackmer. The plot, somewhat slight, tells of the romantic daughter of an inventor who weaves about herself a story of a devoted, but imaginary, lover. This lover is the son of the woman by whom she is employed as a seamstress. A young man who is jealous of her affections hears the story, and repeats it to the girl's father and to the mother of the young man, who, in reality, is unaware of her presence. The complications and the happy ending are obvious, but they are handled with a sincerity and charm that makes it quaintly interesting.

It is hardly possible that "The Chinese Wife," a comedy by Forrest Halsey and Clara Beranger, would have ever reached the stage if it had not been for the tremendous success of "East is West." The play tells the story of the regeneration of a young man who, after making a failure of life at home, is saved from his bad habits by the Chinese princess whom he marries. When he brings her to the States to show off his jewel, he finds, as the audience expects, family opposition. The family are frankly theatrical, going to great lengths to show their bad manners, so that the little Chinese girl may stand prominently as a lady by way of contrast. Of course, in the end, she overcomes all opposition, and straightens out the dramatic situations, making it possible

for the final happy curtain. What will keep a rather obvious play from failure is the really splendid performance of Madeline Delmar as *Tea Flower*. The others of the company are passable.

Martin Brown, who used to dance at the Winter Garden, but who gave it up to become a really able playwright, is responsible for "An Innocent Idea," which Charles Emerson Cook has produced as a medium for summer laughs. The theme is more or less an original one, even though it does find it necessary to include a bedroom in the scene of action. The complications are numerous and farcical, and it is impossible to take the thing seriously. The tempo is good, and, as a whole, the acting is excellent.

Plays Less Comic

MISS ZOE AKINS, whose "Déclassé" has been one of the outstanding hits of the season, has re-written the old drama "Forget Me Not" and under the title "Footloose" it is being presented with Emily Stevens in the rôle that was so impressively played by many of our actresses of two generations ago. Miss Stevens' character, *Stephanie,* is that of a woman who had been the center of a score of scandals, wicked, but fascinating. At the beginning of the play, after her husband has been slain by a revengeful Corsican, she arrives at the home of her dead son's wife with the intent of blackmail. A technicality of the law has given her the power to proclaim her son's marriage void, and immerse the widow and her sister in a scandal. Her price for silence is a chance to enter the society of Rome. How she is unmasked, and finally driven out of the house, makes an uneven, but always interesting drama. Miss Stevens gives a performance that is typical of her work of recent years, and she is surrounded by an excellent company, including Norman Trevor, O. P. Heggie, and a young actress, Tallulah Bankhead. It is Miss Bankhead who really scores the greatest success of the cast.

"Martinique," Lawrence Eyre's new play, which Walter Hast produced, is a colorful bit of work, exotic as the island

upon which the story is laid, and developed by the deft characterization of the author, rather than by situation. It is the story of an illegitimate daughter, in a land where caste is as strong as it is in India. Her father's lawful wife is a relentless creature, almost too relentless to be human. The whole play has an unhappy atmosphere in spite of its brilliant passages. However, it cannot be classed with Mr. Eyre's best work, "Mis' Nelly o' New Orleans." Josephine Victor, an actress too seldom seen of recent years, plays the girl in rather an uneven manner. She has moments of brilliancy, and then again there is something lacking. The play, however, as a whole, has unusual charm.

After several out-of-town trials, "Susan Lennox," a dramatization of David Graham Phillips' posthumous novel, has been given a metropolitan showing. Unfortunately, a story which has every theatrical element did not receive the proper dramatization, for, as it stands now, the work is crude, unsatisfying. In fairness to the author, it must be said that the most dramatic portions of the story could not be presented on the stage for fear of censorship, but it seems as though the life history of the girl could have been more deftly, and more dramatically, woven. Alma Tell is very beautiful, if not particularly satisfying, in her characterization of the heroine. Robert T. Haines plays a bit, as do several other capable players, in the cast of thirty-two speaking characters.

A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

IT is not often that it is possible to study the books that will constitute the history lessons of tomorrow's students, but it seems unlikely that Cardinal Mercier's "Own Story" (George H. Doran Co.) will escape that honor. Cardinal Mercier's part in the world war is too well known to need any explanatory note. A hundred years from now, when the school-children will be learning the historic events of 1914-1918, the Cardinal will probably stand as a more dominant figure than many of the generals who schemed through the night over an attack that would take place at daybreak. His was a spiritual power, and, figuratively speaking, the Cardinal was humanity contending against the greatest power for brute force that the world has ever known. By their own confession the headquarters in Berlin feared the Cardinal more than they did a whole army. They threatened him, almost imprisoned him, yet they could not silence him, nor break his power. He was Belgium triumphant, he was an inspiration to every ally in an hour when the whole world needed inspiration. And in the end he was history.

And now he has allowed his private papers and letters which he kept through the four grilling years of conflict to be edited, prefaced with explanatory notes so that they might be thoroughly understood, and given to the people, not only for our day, but for future generations. Of the material included in his book the Cardinal writes in his foreword: "Here are my war experiences in their most tense and vivid reality; all the issues I fought with the occupying power, their methods and mine clearly defined, undeniably fixed in black and white." There is also a note of commendation from Cardinal Gibbons, and an interesting preface by Professor Mayence, of Louvain University, Louvain, Belgium, Cardinal Mercier's friend who helped prepare the volume for publication. It is a noteworthy book.

Three volumes recently added to the always interesting

Modern Library are "Best American Humorous Short Stories," "A Modern Book of Criticism," and "Three Plays by Oscar Wilde." The Wilde plays are, of course, classics, and need no word of commendation. A Modern Book of Criticism is of real interest. It is the work of Ludwig Lewisohn, himself a critic of rare ability, and he has chosen his excerpts from the best of such men as Shaw, Arnold Bennett, W. L. George, Mencken, Anatole France, and a dozen others. Alexander Jessup has not been so happy in his choice of the "Best American Humorous Stories." Humor, of course, is a matter of taste, but it is easy to think of a dozen really funny stories that have appeared in the last twenty years that might have been included in a volume.

"Responsibility," a novel by James E. Agate (George H. Doran Co.), introduces a new writer who takes for his theme illegitimacy, not, however, from the standpoint of the child, or the mother, but as to its effect on the father. Impossible as it seems, when one considers the subject, the author has managed to write a book that is often dull.

Of much finer flavor is another story in which illegitimacy plays its part—finer because it is a moving story, full of clever characterizations and having that blessed American quality—action. The novel in question is Peter B. Kyne's "Kindred of the Dust" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation). It is a story of contending factions in the lumber country of the Northwest, of a splendid girl, a man who loves in spite of all barriers of family or society,—and a strong-headed old Scotchman who tries to dominate the world about him, and fails in the bosom of his family. Mr. Kyne has done some splendid writing before this, but his new novel goes even a step higher. He is fast assuming a rank with Booth Tarkington as a delineator of American characters. That sounds like praise, and that is just what it is meant to be.

A slight little story, admirably suited for a summer afternoon, is Frederic S. Isham's "The Nut Cracker" (Bobbs-Merrill & Co.). The book tells of a chap who simply has to cut loose from the rut in which he is living, and, being a

clever thinker, he assumes a new personality. The complications that follow are as varied and as humorous as those that constitute the usual motion-picture farce, and make slight, but excellent, entertainment.

Another story that will help banish the thoughts of hot weather is "The Dark Mirror" by Joseph Louis Vance (Doubleday-Page & Co.). It is a psychic tale of dual personality and the underworld, told in Mr. Vance's typical way, which means that each chapter unfolds more suspense, and that excitement vies with love interest for the rule of the reader's imagination.

A literary note calls attention to the fact that Mabel Wagnall's story, "The Rose of a Thousand Years," has gone into another edition, and has been printed in Esperanto. Just one more adventure in the life of a story which is unique, for it is doubtful if any of the small volumes of recent days—the book is only six or eight thousand words in length—has more spiritual appeal, or been more genuinely entertaining.

Anne Douglas Sedgwick has almost surpassed "Tante" in her new novel, "The Third Window," which is very simply told, but contains a great psychological drama. It is too late to discuss Mrs. Sedgwick's style, or her craft, but few writers could have taken the mediums of returned spirits and ouija board, and made them real literature.

Another book having dealings with the spiritual world is May Wright Sewall's "Neither Dead Nor Sleeping" (Bobbs-Merrill & Co.). The book is an autobiography, for it tells in detail Mrs. Sewall's various psychic experiences during the past fifteen years. As a human document you can believe it or not—that is your affair, but in an age when spiritualism is a question of major importance, the book is worth consideration. Booth Tarkington thought so, for he wrote a clever introduction.

And following the trend of the times Boni & Liveright offer for those who would delve into the unseen a collection of ghost stories "The Best Psychic Stories," edited by Joseph Louis French. The stories have been carefully selected, and

they are worth reading if one is interested only in receiving a shudder through the uncanny situations they unfold.

An interesting book for the student of psychology as applied to business efficiency, and, incidentally, a volume with which a room-full of people might amuse themselves, is "Measure Your Mind" by M. R. Trabue, Ph.D., and Frank Parker Stockbridge. The book is a collection, with explanations, of the various mental tests used in the army, and by many of the larger industrial firms throughout the country. In this day when efficiency counts as never before in the business history of the world, any man might well study the volume, and with the results in mind, undertake a course in mental training.

The Editor's Un-Easy Chair

(Contributions to this department must be addressed to the Editor and should not exceed 1,000 words. Manuscripts should contain addressed envelope stamped)

Reds At The Top—As Well As The Bottom

THERE are some "Reds" higher up still at large as well as some "Reds" lower down, in America. The "Reds" lower down have been quite well defined and pinioned. We know them by their occupations, the cut of their hair, and their incendiary activities; but the higher up "Reds" have not been as well classified.

A "Red" is an enemy of the nation's prosperity; he is an influence for evil in the republic. He is illogical, irrational, violent and uncompromising. His slogan is "I want more!" irrespective of economics, reason or the natural and legal provisions of how *more* is to be obtained.

The "Red" lower down strikes out of order, commits sabotage and preaches anarchy; the "Red" higher up stands pat, is a bear for more money, more power, preaches "no compromise," "starve 'em out," "keep 'em ignorant," "they're not fit to govern," "they couldn't hold our jobs if they got 'em," "they're Bolsheviks," and like doctrine,—the doctrine of force irrespective of reason, and the intolerance and greed of self-gain and proprietory security.

The "Red" higher up is propagating the "Red" lower down. He feeds his gun with ammunition, and gives his voice a hearing. He stimulates hatred and envy and supplies a culture for the poison of violence. He brings on class hatred and disturbs the equanimity of the great middle grade of American stability, who seek the opportunity of success and a competence as a result of orderly life and industry.

Fortunately, the "Red" higher up is less in evidence than formerly and is rapidly becoming the subject of public opprobrium. But he still survives in his holdings and opinions.

That he cannot continue to escape exposition and isolation is becoming obvious. His own class, in terms of wealth and power, are spewing him out and isolating him—Capital, the professions, and industrial wealth are seeking remedies for equalizing conditions and opportunity that will bring about a better period of the brotherhood of man. Education and propaganda are supplying the fallow soil, and a better world to live in, for the 90 per cent of people, is in process of evolution. A little more education, and a little more pressure of law and order is yet needed, at the top and at the bottom of human society, for poison and national disease find a point of attack from the exposed extremes.

Glorious Opportunities For Mexico

THEY have just had an election in Mexico—a sort of primary, as it were, preceding the formal ballot. Mexico still adheres to the old-fashioned way of selecting its government—the ballot is a bullet. Self-determination across the border is the chief outdoor sport, but has not risen to the plane of mental registration. They still take government quite seriously and believe in the referendum, by the same methods through which they express their political faith.

However, from the viewpoint of our commercial interests, we find that we have sold to ourselves, to foreigners and to Mexicans, in Mexico, (15,000,000 people) over one hundred and thirty million dollars' worth of American products during this past year. The sales were made up largely of cotton cloths, flour, sugar, motors, shoes, lard, food, chemicals and agricultural implements.

This is more than twice our sales during the peaceful reign of Diaz. We have bought from Mexico about the same amount of goods, hemp, petroleum, copper, raw cotton, hides, coffee, etc.,—mostly raw materials— during 1919, altogether about 90 per cent of her exports, and 85 per cent of her imports.

Aside from the lamentable fact that American lives are too frequently sacrificed, our trade seems to thrive during Mexican revolutions, and our $2,000,000,000 invested in

Mexico appears to function, although the up-keep and overhead is excessive.

What glorious opportunities await Mexico and American dollars when the nation is elevated to a better political conception and method of exercising the franchise!

Better Bill Boards

MR. JOSEPH PENNELL, the eminent artist, illustrator, and author, of London and New York, wants our billboards taken away from us. He would have a Nineteenth Amendment, or something like that, to strike chewing gum, pills, flour, malted milk, tobacco, movies, etc., from our car window. I have spent many otherwise tedious hours watching the ingenuity of billboard advertising, as the train passed through otherwise colorless landscape. Billboard advertising has achieved a place on the American terrain (no pun intended). "Eventually, why not now?" is a part of the American vocabulary. True, art is swept on with a broad brush, but with nature for its gallery it has to talk loudly, especially when nature is in summer attire. "You can't mistake the flavor," has come to be a breakfast tid-bit where once we were only offered a piece of salty bacon. "Babies cry for it," is at once amusing and informative. Billboard art is the art of selling through the eye; salesmanship of product not of the art itself, and should not be confused with art that sells for art's sake. If I were Mr. Pennell, I should appeal for Better Billboards. A billboardless America would strike from travel a diverting pastime. Art in any form is educational; the billboard that carries art is making for art, both in the atelier where it is produced as well as in the mind of the passer-by. And besides the billboard art covers many an otherwise paintless barn.

Why Scrub Women Are Scarce

"ART FOR ARTIST" AS CURB ON REDS

THE misfitting of the immigrant and the job into which he chances to drop is not only an economic waste, but

responsible often for his social unrest and consequent Bolshevistic sympathies," says Mrs. A. Sterner Pascal, art designer for the Ukrainian Needlecraft Guild, in the *N. Y. Evening Sun*. Mrs. Pascal with Miss E. Barnes, Business Manager, exhibited recently the results of an experiment in Americanization through industrial art, which the People's Institute has financed. She continues:

> "Women are discovered scrubbing floors or taking in washing who know how to produce exquisite embroideries with which, guided by the Guild, they are now delighting American beauty-lovers.
>
> "The native motif which immigrants bring with them on holiday aprons and peasant dress sleeves is applied by the Guild to local needs in curtain, lunch cloth, table runner, bag and blouse lines.
>
> "Women with small children whom they used to leave to go out at day labor are earning at home $20 a week at work they love. One Ukrainian mother whose husband makes enough for family necessities plans that her embroidery money shall send her son to college. Another is buying a home.
>
> "Father helps out in spare hours. Maria Polowy's husband is a baker. He embroiders regularly from 2 to 6 o'clock every afternoon. Between them they finish up a table runner at extra double quick pace. Helena Baimiw's man is an artist at heart and was by profession at home, but here he is in the plumbing line. He relieves his artistic urge by helping Helena create beauty with a needle.
>
> "Through the medium of a congenial employment, replacing enforced and hated drudgery, these people, the Needlecraft Guild says, are becoming prosperous and contented citizens of a type that will not tend toward anarchism."

I sometimes suspect the *Evening Sun* of New York, of permitting levity to creep into its news columns.

Belgium Convalescing Rapidly

WE can kick the props out from under war-stricken Belgium. This wonder nation of the age is able to take up her bed and walk. "Poor Belgium," may be tabbed and put on the museum shelf. She has come back. "Her industry will be completely re-established by the end of the present year," says Mr. Emile Francqui, President of the Société Générale of Belgium, and Director of the Comité National, the organization through which Herbert Hoover's Commit-

tee for Relief in Belgium worked in the occupied areas. "In Belgium we are moving rapidly. The reason for this is our laborers are not Bolsheviks, they are not anarchists, they are not radicals; they are workers. We can rely on them right up to the opportunity afforded them. But although Belgium is nearly on her feet and has re-entered the class of desirable commercial associates, she still has need of the financial assistance of the United States a little while longer," concludes Mr. Francqui.

I hope this rosy picture is all true, despite the recent offering of a new $50,000,000 bond issue, that followed a bank's announcement shortly after the promulgation of the good news of Belgium's "come back."

Our Plutocratic Sporting Fraternity

SPEAKING of luxuries, profiteering and kindred H. C. of L. themes, we observe that several million of able-bodied men and women still have money and time to devote to such minor luxuries as the theatre, horse-racing, boxing and baseball. "Wilson O'Dowd, in three fights, realized $11,800," says a sporting news item, and "Victory at Deal next month will be worth $250,000 to Hagen who has several fat movie offers," tells a further item of professional golf news. Still another financial item: "Jimmy Wild, boxer, has cleaned up $50,000 so far, above expenses." On the same sporting page, same date, is the following H. C. of L. item:

> "Sammy Goldman, manager of Champion Pete Herman, who had Herman boxing at Jack Hanlon's big boxing show in the Ice Skating Palace in Philadelphia on last Wednesday night, told the writer today that the gross receipts of the entertainment amounted to $32,600. Over 10,000 persons paid to witness the scraps. Goldman says Hanlon has the prettiest and largest club he has ever been in."

Further news from the boxing world adds to the gaiety of life. We quote also from *The World:*

> "Little Sammy Vick has been doing a hot stuff step in the Babe's place, however, both in fielding and hitting. He hasn't nicked off any homers, but Sammy, it will be remembered, snapped out a double that won a game against the Indians and he got two singles in his last game.

"The Sammy child is going to be a great player if he doesn't die of starvation before the close of the season. Big Babe Ruth is as much of a demon at table as he is on the diamond. Babe's heft sort of entitles him to at least a double share of rations. But Vick isn't any bigger than a minute, yet they tell me a week's rations for a full army corps encampment wouldn't be more than a hearty breakfast for Samuel. He eats corn on the cob then eats the cob.

"On the road the club allows a player $3 a day for his fodder. All he masticates over that he gulps at his own expense. After dinner one night up in Boston Sammy was found sobbing into the finger bowl. They asked him why his woe and he moaned:

" 'Three bucks a day for grub! Gee, I just eat $3.40 worth of shortcake for desert!'

"Sammy holds the unflagging admiration of all the waiters on the American League circuit."

It's a picturesque bit of real American literature, as native as the Indian, though not as scarce, to our soil. Un-Easy Chair readers, interested in the H. C. of L. economics, will learn something by an occasional dip into the goings-on of our plutocratic sporting fraternity.

Golf and Finance

I ONCE drove out of a gravel pit, flanking the eighteenth hole, at the Country Club course at Atlantic City, into the *cup,* and remarked that "I tried for it," much to the amusement of my opponent, who thereupon offered to bet me one hundred to one that I couldn't do it again in the rest of my golf life; *but* apparently that was a bit of golf criminality of petty significance in comparison with the offense committed by Comptroller Stuart H. Patterson, of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, at their Tourney at Shinnecock, L. I., in May.

Listen to this (vouched for by the *Guaranty News*):

"Messrs. Sabin and Sisson were playing a four-ball match against Messrs. Patterson and Bishop and Mr. Sabin and Mr. Patterson were having an individual match which was very close. They were even going to the fourteenth hole, which is 160 yards long and named and patterned after the famous Redan hole abroad. Mr. Sabin missed his drive and went in the rough short of the green, and Mr. Patterson put his drive in the large bunker to the left of the green, which was full of water from the recent rain. Mr. Sabin pitched his

ball to the green, so that if Mr. Patterson lifted his ball from the water, the penalty stroke would probably cost him the hole. His ball was not a floater and he found it lying in over two inches of water, with the green about eight feet above him. The prospects of transferring the ball from the water to the green were anything but promising. Not wishing to lose the hole on account of the closeness of the match, he elected to play the ball as it lay in the water in hopes that with luck it might land somewhere on the green and he might have a put for a half. The result was beyond his wildest dreams, there was a mighty splash of water and a shout from the green. The impossible had happened, for he had not only pitched to the green, but had actually holed out his shot, thereby making the hole in two strokes, with the result that the four-ball match was eventually won by one hole and he also became a participant in the fund collected for penalty strokes. Mr. Patterson admits the shot was the worst kind of robbery and promises never to do it again."

"Faith" In Old China—and Japan

IN a Chinese paper I find the following, the caption of which is "Pilgrim Season at Tai Shan Draws Greatest Crowds in History of Republic."

Taianfu, Shantung, Mar. 14.—The great Pilgrim season is on. More pilgrims are coming this year than since the first year of the Republic. One day, more than two thousand came from one group of villages to pray Tai Shan not to allow the locusts to come again this year. This section was especially hard hit with the locusts last year.

The chances are that their prayers will be answered for the pest does not usually come two years in succession. This is a busy season for the sellers of trinkets which appeal to the pilgrims.

Strange are the ways of the "Heathen Chinee" and, in contrasting interest, is the comment of the *Japan Chronicle* at the prospect of an Americanized Sunday School Convention to be held in Tokio in the Autumn. It calles it a "glorified picnic," and expresses the hope that it will be abandoned.

It does not see how the "excursionists," dumped on Japanese hosts, can escape making themselves more or less of a nuisance, being absolute strangers to the country; and as for the Convention itself, foresees little advantage from it except as being an opportunity for speech-making and the exchange of platitudes.

Strange are the ways of the "Heathen Japanee!"

The Pamphleteer Is With Us

DID you find a pamphlet in your morning mail? or, did you find a half-dozen? I am sure, if you are a householder, have your name in a telephone, green, or blue book, or are a member of any sort of society or even have voted, you are not overlooked by the pamphleteer. We are in the midst of an age of pamphleteers; defensive, educational, political, social, economic, oratorical, industrial—and sometimes offensive.

Why the deluge of pamphlets? Primarily, the pamphlet is a pre-war and government product; secondarily a political, and propaganda vehicle. The pamphlet has come into being in protest of or competition with the Press. More and more has the American Press become the propaganda of group interest, aside from its vocation of carrying the daily news. Aside from its somewhat restricted open forum space, the newspaper devotes its columns of reading matter to issues that affect its policies, political partisanship, religious partisanship, industrial partisanship, or what not, and the individual presenting or representing a cause does not find a vehicle of general distribution in the Press. Hence the pamphlet and the increased burden on the mail-carrier's back. We are a people of strong opinions. We are becoming strong partisans, and open fighters. The Press closes its doors to opinion not of its policies—the pamphlet is the recourse of the individual or organization who seeks the direct appeal to a wide circle, irrespective of partisanship, denied them in the Press. The growth of the pamphlet habit is increasing. Every great banking institution, every great industrial organization, whether producer or laborer, resorts to the pamphlet; social and welfare organizations, and even the Government itself (perhaps the largest pamphleteer) has contracted this pamphlet habit.

Let it go on—it is the American way of giving direct public utterance to definite news, opinion, and information. It is a growth of the forum idea—and the vent cock of public opinion.

The World Is Knocking At Our Door

BRITAIN has come back on the seas. Germany submarined 8,000,000 tons of merchant vessels, but the deficit has been wiped out, and at the end of 1920, we are told by reliable English authorities, the merchant ships will exceed pre-war tonnage by 1,000,000 tons. John Bull is capturing the German trade routes, and giving the new American merchant marine a line of sharp competition. The world trade expands. Our import and export trade with all the world is knitting the nations closer. Trade with the Orient quadrupled during the war and is increasing since. American billions, American industry, and American purchasing power are overflowing the levees and, with the gradual lowering of prices of commodities and equalization of labor, a period of world prosperity is predicted by maturing events that fortify the vision of our economists.

Real Queens Not Wanted In Movies

WHEN we read the papers, the other day, we were plunged into a turmoil of apprehension. A dispatch for a moment led us to believe that Royalty was going into the Movies. Queen Marie, of Roumania, was approached by one of our plutocrats of the films. Would she accept an offer and throw in her palaces and imperial ground for location? The Queen wavered for but a moment and then—accepted, but upon Royal conditions. The price was $50,000 and 10 per cent—to go to Roumania's needy. The wise-heads of movie-land got together. Would she pull? Not fifty thousand and 10 per cent's worth. The price was too high! Think of it—and "Our Mary" receives a million a year. Royalty has gone down since the war. Those who are in it and know what the movie fan wants passed up the feature. The box office rules—even more potent than Royalty, in these days of self-determination.

Debs' 29,000,000 Roubles Campaign Fund

WHEN 'Gene Debs was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States by the Socialist Party, among the contributions to his campaign fund, amounting to $10,000, was a contribution of 29,000,000 roubles. Expert mathematicians at once set to work to compute in American money this plutocratic contribution. When the figuring was completed the equivalent in American money proved to be $4, and the convention was permitted to proceed upon its way without further alarm.

Dr. Crane's Panacea For Our Ills

WHEN I was a lad of perhaps eight, a "big boy" contemptuous at my practice of paddling in shallow water grabbed me in his arms and heaved me into the deep of the old swimming pool from the end of a spring-board.

After I sank twice he preserved me to my destiny by a timely rescue, and I recall that my big brother gave him a deserved licking. In one of Dr. Frank Crane's editorials, he tells his multitudinous readers that the only way to teach a boy to swim is to throw him in where the water is deep. The analogy that Dr. Crane draws is to throw the people into deep water and let them swim—or sink. In other words, the quick route to popular government is to wipe out the steps to citizenship. Clean the path of government restrictions and let them go to it and learn to swim—out. Out where? Out of chaos and deep water. Fallacious teaching that ignores the structure of government by law and order! I hope parents who want their sons instructed in the manly art of swimming and government will not take the eminent Doctor's advice. At any rate we are comforted in the knowledge that doctors disagree.

Frenzied Politics

THE people have had a close-up of the political convention at Chicago and the five-reel screen at San Francisco. It is the greatest American sport, choosing a Presi-

dential candidate, and like other popular contests is bound to leave heart-breaks and disappointments in its trail. But as the final responsibilities of election rest upon the judgment and political skill of the party leaders, the voter can do no better than follow the leader:—a game of childhood, pursued through life. The Chicago Convention demonstrated the farce of the primary, if further proof were necessary to the observant citizen. It furthermore added proof to the well-established fact that popular opinion does not, though it may later, choose its candidate. If we are to continue the primary, the law must reach further and regulate the disposition of the votes at the Convention of primary-elected delegates. Either a delegate is "instructed" by the voters of his party and should register his instructions, or else, why instruct him? The final battle occurs when the instructed delegates of various candidates tie or deadlock a nomination. Here is the *rub*. If the voice of the people is to prevail, there should be no possibility of a "dark horse." The two highest candidates should "match for it." At least such a procedure would more nearly develop a nominee in accordance with the primary vote. The Un-Easy Chair passes this along to our law makers. If we must go to the primaries let us have some laws that regulate the instructed pawns who go to the convention.

Government Ownership and Alaska

OUR bankers are engaged in a propaganda to stimulate investment in bond issues to promote and reconstruct industrial development in China, France, Belgium, South America, while our own Alaska lies undeveloped and crying for capital.

The total value of Alaska's mineral, fish, fur and other products, from 1867 to 1919, has been approximately one billion dollars. The most prosperous year was 1916, when the total output was $89,000,000. Alaska contains extensive areas of farm lands suitable for raising the hardier grains, including wheat, potatoes, forage crops and many varieties of vegetables. The timber resources include about 75,000,000

New Hair Growth After BALDNESS

HAIR GROWN ON MR. BRITTAIN'S BALD HEAD BY INDIANS' WONDERFUL HAIR GROWER

From former photograph of J. H. Brittain

My head at the top and back was absolutely bald. The scalp was shiny. Experts said there was no hope of my ever having a new hair growth. They were wrong in my case; why not in *yours?*

Yet now, at an age over 66, I have a **luxuriant growth of soft,** strong, lustrous hair! No trace of baldness. The pictures shown here are from my photographs. KOTALKO was what grew my hair!

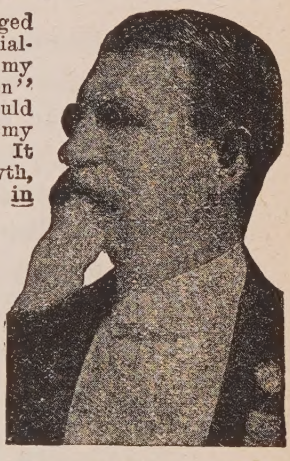
Indians' Secret of Hair Growth Free

At a time when I had become discouraged at trying various hair lotions, tonics, specialists' treatments, etc., I came across, in my travels, a Cherokee Indian "medicine man" who had an elixir that he asseverated would grow my hair. I gave it a trial. To my **amazement** a light fuzz soon appeared. **It developed, day by day, into a healthy growth,** and ere long my hair was as prolific as in my youthful days.

That I was astonished and happy is expressing my state of mind mildly.

Obviously, the hair roots had not been dead, but were dormant in the scalp, awaiting the fertilizing potency of the mysterious pomade.

I negotiated for and came into possession of the principle (*it has components from the Three Kingdoms of Nature*) for preparing this elixir, now called **Kotalko,** and later had the recipe put into practical form by a chemist. Genuine BEAR OIL and other potential ingredients are in KOTALKO.



From recent photograph of J. H. Brittain

That my own hair growth was **permanent** has been amply proved. **Many men and women,** as well as children, have reported satisfactory results from Kotalko. Busy drug stores sell KOTALKO or will get it for you promptly. Remember the name; accept no substitute. Get genuine KOTALKO and be happy!

KOTALKO is not a lotion or shampoo. It is an ointment. It is not perfumed—don't use it if you are seeking merely a scented liquid or a hair brilliantine. Kotalko is not a miracle ointment. For creating hair papillae it is absolutely fallible. For enlivening and stimulating the growth of dormant roots and weak hair Kotalko is unrivalled. A $300 GUARANTEE is given with KOTALKO. It has often induced hair growth when all other treatments have failed.

For Women's Hair

How YOU May Grow YOUR Hair

I have been told by experts that in many cases when hair falls out the roots become imbedded within the scalp, covered by hard skin, so that they remain for a time like bulbs or seeds in a bottle which will grow when fertilized. Shampoos (which contain alkalis) and those scented hair lotions which contain alcohol are enemies to the hair, as they dry it, making it brittle. **Kotalko** contains those elements of nature which give new vitality to the scalp and hair. **To prove the GENUINENESS of Kotalko,** I will send the recipe **FREE** on request. Or I will mail a testing box of Kotalko with the recipe for 10 cents, silver or stamps. Or obtain a full box at the drug store. Satisfy yourself. You want to stop falling hair, eliminate dandruff or cover that bald spot with healthy hair. Get Kotalko without delay. Address:

RECIPE FREE

JOHN HART BRITTAIN, Inc., BA-74, Station F, NEW YORK, N. Y.

acres of forest. Nearly all of Alaska's resources are directly or indirectly controlled by the Federal Government. About 99 per cent of the land is still in Government ownership. The development of coal and oil deposits is under Government leases. Water power and fisheries are under Federal control and nearly all Alaska timber is in Government ownership.

Has the government done its duty toward Alaska? Why are the bankers and industrial promoters shy of Alaska?

We Shall Bite On

IN France "store teeth" are "luxuries." Coincident with the discovery our teeth are no longer wanted. When the Frenchman wanted us to bite into the Hun's Jaw protruding menacingly toward Paris, American biting facilities were in urgent demand. We bit and the Hun bit the dust. Hereafter it will be illegal to bring artificial teeth into France. Tourists must presumably leave their teeth on the dock before sailing. The some 30,000 Americans living in France must buy teeth of French make. The $30,000 exportation of teeth must stop.

Since Prohibition came into effect our wine importations from France have ceased. Perhaps the makers of the sparkling vintage are forced into the teeth business. England still takes her store teeth from us and Germany. Mittel Europa is crying for teeth, and South America bites on our New York and Pennsylvania manufactured teeth. All is not lost in the teeth industry, and though France wants to go toothless, the world at large may bite on in the assurance that our teeth exports have doubled.